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AND DEVELOPMENT COMMISSION
ENERGY EFFICIENCY COMMITTEE

WORKSHOP
TRANSPORTATION COMMITTEE ON COMPETITION
IN CALIFORNIA'S PETROLEUM INDUSTRY

CALIFORNIA ENERGY COMMISSION
HEARING ROOM A
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COMMITTEE MEMBERS PRESENT

James D. Boyd, Commissioner

Jackalyne Pfannenstiel, Commissioner

STAFF PRESENT

Timothy Tutt

Brian Covi, Economist, Transportation Fuels Office

ALSO PRESENT

Severin Borenstein, Director
University of California Energy Institute

Philip K. Verleger, Jr.
PKVerleger, LLC

Jeffrey C. Williams, Daniel DeLoach Professor
Department of Agricultural & Resource Economics
University of California, Davis

Gregg Haggquist, President & CEO
MGE Company, LTD.

Tim Hamilton

Drew Laughlin (via telephone)

Joe Sparano, President
WSPA

Dr. George B. Bunyard

Dennis C. DeCota
California Service Station & Automotive Repair
Association

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1 P R O C E E D I N G S

2 9:44 a.m.

3 COMMISSIONER BOYD: Good morning,
4 everybody. Excuse the slight delay while they
5 worked out technical electronic issues and what
6 have you and got rid of feedback they were getting
7 in their system, etc.

8 Good morning, welcome, and thank you for
9 your attendance and for many of you, your
10 participation in this Transportation Committee
11 Workshop on the subject of Competition in
12 California's Petroleum Industry.

13 I will apologize in advance if I start
14 losing my voice for the cold that I am carrying
15 around.

16 The genesis of this meeting or maybe the
17 plural that word perhaps many, but I like to focus
18 in on price volatility as one of the major
19 concerns that keeps bringing many of us together
20 and stays in the headlines here in California for
21 several years now.

22 It is an extreme concern to the citizens
23 of this state. It is a problem to them, but a
24 bigger problem collectively to our economy. It
25 remains a concern of this Commission and I guess

1 of governmental and legislative bodies certainly
2 in this state, if not more universally now.

3 The real genesis to me of the issue we
4 are struggling with today goes all the back to the
5 day '99 and 2000 and the very significant price
6 spike that occurred at that point in time that
7 really got people going again.

8 It touched off a lot of activity.
9 Investigations by state agencies and the State
10 Attorney General, legislative directions
11 ultimately to this agency and to others, the Air
12 Resource Board most specifically with us to
13 explore strategies and alternatives and the issue
14 in general, i.e. the idea of the State sanctioned
15 if not sponsored pipeline from the Gulf, the State
16 sanctioned if not administered strategic fuels
17 reserve, and of course the request that this
18 agency and the Air Resources Board explore how to
19 reduce our dependence on petroleum, an multiple
20 legislative hearings at which I have seen I bet
21 you every one in this room at which many of us
22 have participated.

23 The dilemma is the issue continues. I
24 don't think Commissioner Pfannenstiel and I, who
25 are the Transportation Committee, were quite

1 realized that by the time we got this workshop
2 scheduled and finally held would be such a
3 propitious moment in history again with regard to
4 price volatility and price spiking.

5 I woke up this morning to headlines in
6 the Sacramento Bee about gas prices soaring and
7 lots of comments in the national media about the
8 dilemma that we face.

9 In the middle of all this while this
10 agency and this nation, State of California
11 continue to worry about national energy policy,
12 sometimes wishing we were a nation could set a
13 national energy policy. We have to deal with the
14 energy policy of the country, and this is a non-
15 partisan statement I am making hasn't been one as
16 far as I am concerned for decades.

17 I remember President Nixon saying we
18 needed to reduce our dependence on foreign oil and
19 every president since then, regardless of party,
20 and frankly I still look for a cohesive national
21 energy policy, and it is very important for the
22 nation, State of California, the world's fifth,
23 sometimes sixth, depending on the value of the
24 dollar and the ambition of France, the largest
25 economy needs to reckon with the cost of energy

1 and the energy supply and the energy diversity,
2 and the energy security, and needs to keep dealing
3 with this issue.

4 The Energy Commission during all this
5 process engaged the University of California and
6 the California Energy Institute of the University
7 to take a look at this subject, study the issue of
8 possible market power in California's petroleum
9 system. Their Director, Severin Borenstein, and
10 his crew did produce a report which they presented
11 to us and that report titled "Market Power in
12 California's Gasoline Market" they submitted that
13 to us, and we discussed that with them at length a
14 little earlier this year.

15 I remember Severin and I before one of
16 the many legislative committees in which that
17 issue was discussed yet again, however frankly, we
18 found the report and Severin's presentation of
19 that subject here at the Energy Commission to be
20 enlightening, thought provoking, and frankly one
21 of the reasons we are holding this workshop today
22 is to allow Severin another opportunity to present
23 his thoughts on this topic to a larger audience to
24 get the reaction from many of you to this whole
25 general subject.

1 We continue to be interested in
2 exploring this topic of market competition, and we
3 want to explore it a little more broadly than what
4 the Energy Institute did in its report. They did
5 what we asked them to do, but we've heard
6 concerns, perhaps even experienced concerns from
7 various industry stakeholders on competition in
8 broader areas, such as in the general area of just
9 importing petroleum product in pipeline operations
10 and just in general retail marketing and
11 distribution of both gasoline and diesel fuel.
12 So, we would like to put those areas of
13 California's petroleum market on the table for
14 discussion today and in the immediate future.

15 The primary reason we are holding this
16 workshop is so we, the Energy Commission, can gain
17 a better awareness and understanding of this issue
18 and these issues and competition frankly in our
19 petroleum industry and how it may relate to energy
20 planning and public policy.

21 As you know, we are responsible to the
22 governor and the legislature for producing an
23 Integrated Energy Policy Report. The legislature
24 in its infinite wisdom, I think, requested that
25 such a report be prepared starting in 2003, a

1 major redo every other year, and in the
2 intervening years, commissioned us to pursue some
3 of the individual issues that we identify that
4 need further exploration.

5 So, we basically have a full time, real
6 time, dynamic planning process that allows us to
7 keep our eye on the ball so to speak or on the
8 subject of energy in general to look at all three
9 legs of the energy stool that I like to refer to
10 upon which I think our economy in this state sits,
11 i.e. electricity, natural gas, and transportation
12 fuel, which is right now basically petroleum.

13 Of course a major concern, and I would
14 like to say all three legs of that stool have been
15 shaky and remain that way in our state, thus we
16 worry about the economy.

17 When markets are lacking sufficient
18 degree of competition, we get concerned, and we
19 know that the prices to consumers can be higher
20 than otherwise might be or should be, so we strive
21 to develop energy policies that would hopefully
22 facilitate and promote competition in the
23 marketplace rather than hinder competition.

24 Certainly we will want to hear if government at
25 least in California is in the way of any of this

1 so that we can address that.

2 We need to be mindful of how market
3 power could operate or could emerge in the
4 petroleum market as we do all of our work here at
5 the Energy Commission in the area of energy in
6 general.

7 So, let me also, though, address what
8 the workshop is not. I have already made
9 reference to and everybody is aware of the
10 numerous investigations and hearings that have
11 occurred in this state, and even at the federal
12 level over the past few years on the issues of
13 market competition in the petroleum market, but
14 this not a hearing or an investigation. It truly
15 is a workshop. Hopefully, a fairly informal one
16 in spite of the rigid formality of the way this
17 room is designed and set up. We will try to break
18 that down soon when we get our panel up here at
19 the table.

20 We don't expect everybody to agree with
21 each other, but we really would like an open and
22 frank and honest discussion of the issues, so we
23 can address what really ails us and not get
24 engaged in unnecessary allegations that are
25 dramatic but not frankly to the point. So, we

1 look forward to a very open and hopefully honest
2 and forthright discussion of the issues so that we
3 can do our job and address the issues.

4 We have a pretty good-sized agenda. We
5 have a fairly tight schedule in that agenda in
6 order to get everybody heard. So I am going to
7 ask folks to limit questions to clarification or
8 maybe a little bit of what the speaker said when
9 we get the panel up here and hear from them.

10 Then later on this afternoon, we will
11 have time for a general public go around and
12 public comments and questions.

13 The staff has already prepared a list of
14 questions that have been posed to the workshop
15 participants to elicit some early response. We
16 had hoped that those would be helpful to us in
17 relating to the subject of competition in the
18 petroleum industry.

19 As I say at the end of the day, we have
20 time on the agenda for folks who want to ask
21 questions. We have openly solicited some people
22 to be here to ask questions or make their points.
23 We ask them to wait for that period of time.

24 Now, looking at Brian. Do we have blue
25 cards on the back table, so the custom for those

1 of you who are used to the Energy Commission, when
2 we get to the public session, is to ask folks to
3 fill out a little blue card which you will find
4 out on the table in the lobby that will find its
5 way up here to us and allow us to know who to call
6 upon for public testimony.

7 If you would, when we get to public
8 testimony, you want to say something, fill out a
9 little blue card, and we will see that it gets up
10 here.

11 With that, I would like to turn to my
12 associate member, Commissioner Pfannenstiel and
13 ask her if she would like to make any remarks.

14 COMMISSIONER PFANNENSTIEL: Thank you,
15 Jim. I would like to join Jim in welcoming you
16 and thanking you for participating.

17 Before I have any opening comments, I
18 have a favor to ask. Would everybody take out
19 your cell phone. I know that there are more than
20 a couple of cell phones. Now, would you either
21 turn them off or put them on vibrate. Thank you.

22 From my perspective, what we are here
23 about today is really trying to understand really
24 fundamentally the causes of the high prices in
25 California and nationwide, primarily in

1 California.

2 They are high, they are volatile. There
3 are reasons that people have postulated. Some
4 people say it is simply the question of supply and
5 demand balance. Others would say that it is much
6 more complicated. That is has to do with the
7 functioning of the petroleum industry and the
8 structure of that industry.

9 This Commission recognizes that the
10 petroleum infrastructure in California has not
11 been increasing even as demand has been growing,
12 and we are looking at policies. We are trying to
13 develop wise policies to deal with that mismatch.

14 Those policies, though, need to be
15 formed by the many stakeholders in this industry.
16 We have invited here today a number of
17 stakeholders, and we did so knowing that different
18 stakeholders are likely to have different
19 perspectives on the functioning of the petroleum
20 market and the market structure, and that you are
21 apt to arrive at different conclusions about how
22 to fix the problem.

23 What we want to look at today isn't
24 really just the problems. I think that we are all
25 painfully aware of the problems, the result of

1 what is happening now. What we are looking for is
2 some commonality, and specifically commonality
3 around policy initiatives that we should be
4 thinking about.

5 We have invited a number of experts, and
6 we did so because we want to be informed by what
7 you know.

8 Now many of you may know that my
9 background is in the electric industry, and the
10 Energy Institute Report certainly raises some
11 interesting and I think really valid parallels
12 between the petroleum industry and the electric
13 industry.

14 I do think that most of us are aware
15 that you can't push those parallels and
16 similarities too far when it comes to policy.
17 There are as many differences and maybe more than
18 there are similarities.

19 What we have today is a distinguished
20 panel, and I am looking forward to hearing from
21 them. Without further comment, I turn it back to
22 Commissioner Boyd.

23 COMMISSIONER BOYD: Thank you,
24 Commissioner Pfannenstiel.

25 I guess now we are going to turn to the

1 agenda and hear a series of presentations, of
2 course, to be led off by Dr. Borenstein who was
3 the author of this report. I have my well-
4 weathered, very weathered, copy still, a dog-eared
5 copy with me. You all have the agenda, I trust,
6 and I hope. Let me just mention that Mr. Leto
7 referenced down here is not going to be here
8 today, so we had to eliminate one of the
9 presentations. He had a very last minute
10 situation arise, and so we will not get his
11 presentation on pipeline and supply demographics.

12 By the same token, I am sure we will
13 hear from other people on that subject. While one
14 of the panelists we hoped to have attend today,
15 Drew Laughlin, was not able to be here, Drew is
16 going to join us on the phone later this afternoon
17 when we have the panel discussion. I know Drew
18 has some insights on the pipeline business. So,
19 we still hope to cover that subject as well.

20 With that, I would like to turn it over
21 to Dr. Borenstein. Severin, welcome and thank you
22 for being here.

23 DR. BORENSTEIN: Thank you. Good
24 morning, Commissioner Boyd and Commissioner
25 Pfannenstiel and audience.

1 I am Severin Borenstein. I am Director
2 of the UC Energy Institute. The UC Energy
3 Institute is a non-partisan party analysis and
4 energy research organization that supports energy
5 research throughout the UC system.

6 The work I am going to talk about today
7 is available on the CEC website as a working paper
8 under the same name here. It is also available on
9 the UCI website, www.ucei.org, as a CSEM, Center
10 for the Study of Energy Markets, working paper No.
11 132.

12 What I am going to talk about today is
13 primarily the wholesale gasoline market. I am
14 really not going to talk much about the oil market
15 or much about the retail end of the gasoline
16 market. We are in fact currently engaged in
17 another research project at the behest of the CEC
18 on the retail end of the market.

19 Let me just briefly start by talking
20 about the oil market, which certainly is a major
21 driver of gasoline prices. Every dollar per
22 barrel increase in the price of oil translate
23 fairly quickly to 2 1/2 cents a gallon at the
24 pump.

25 Oil prices are not only very high right

1 now, as everybody is aware, but I think probably
2 more importantly for long run policy, the long run
3 price of oil has shifted dramatically in the last
4 year.

5 In the futures market, the six year out
6 price of oil which has been quite stable for many
7 years between \$18 and \$24 is currently around \$36
8 or \$35 per barrel. So, there really has been a
9 dramatic shift in the price of oil, and one that
10 the markets at least seem to be saying is likely
11 to be with us a very long time.

12 The next time the futures markets are
13 saying that the price of oil will be below \$40 a
14 barrel is 2007. So, at least the market's guess,
15 which is the composite of a lot of people's
16 guesses put together, and I think it is probably
17 better than any one expert's opinion, seem to
18 think that oil prices are going to stay high for
19 quite a while.

20 That said, California has an additional
21 problem beyond the price of oil, and that is the
22 cost difference between the price of oil, which
23 tends to be very similar everywhere in the world
24 and the price of gasoline, which is much higher in
25 California than anywhere else in the world or

1 anywhere else in the country.

2 A lot of people attribute this to basic
3 scarcity as Commissioner Pfannenstiel said and
4 that essentially, this is supply and demand. We
5 get into a situation where supply is tight and the
6 price goes up. We actually have seen this, and
7 this is certainly a component of it.

8 The way the refining industry works,
9 over a wide range of production levels, they
10 simply are taking oil and turning it into refined
11 product. For over a wide range of production
12 levels, they don't face much of a capacity
13 constraint.

14 In fact, for the last 25 years prior to
15 the last five years or so, the industry was
16 characterized by over capacity and very low
17 margins, and if you had been studying this
18 industry for the previous 25 years prior to 2000
19 or so, the industry lore was you can never make
20 money in the refining business. The margins are
21 lousy, it is a dog industry, and all you do is
22 lose money. That, essentially, was a response to
23 the fact that there was a lot of capacity and
24 margins as a result were very low.

25 What has happened recently in

1 California, and is starting to happen in the rest
2 of the country as well, is that demand has
3 continued to expand while supply really hasn't
4 kept up. California is leading the country, as we
5 do in so many thing, unfortunately this is one of
6 the ones we would rather not be leading the
7 country in, in chewing up the excess capacity in
8 the industry so that we are now at a point where
9 the state has gone from having significantly more
10 production capacity than demand in the state in
11 1996 and '97 when we first started using this
12 different blend of gasoline to actually not being
13 able to supply the state's gasoline needs in
14 significant parts of the year.

15 Scarcity is a clear part of what has
16 been going on, scarcely at the refining level, it
17 is a clear part of what has been going on in the
18 industry. And scarcity in the refining level is
19 naturally going to lead to higher prices.

20 Without any company operating in any way
21 other than completely competitive, taking prices
22 as given and just producing all they can so long
23 as their cost of production still allow them some
24 margin, you would see a price increase when you
25 start to get this sort of scarcity in the market.

1 This is a representation of that. We
2 have gone from the lower demand curve most of the
3 time where the supply curve is relatively flat, so
4 the shifts in demand cause fairly small shifts in
5 the price to the D 2, the higher demand curve
6 which is intersecting supply on a portion where
7 there really isn't much extra room in the industry
8 at this point.

9 As a result, we see that relatively
10 small shifts in supply or demand can cause very
11 large price fluctuations.

12 This was actually the situation in May
13 and April this year, and it was clear we were in
14 for a very tight summer. We actually got lucky
15 this summer, we didn't have any major refinery
16 outages.

17 Given that we were in the D 2 situation,
18 had we had a shift in supply, we would have seen
19 really massive increase in price I believe. I
20 think we just got lucky and didn't see that
21 happen.

22 While scarcity is clearly a part of the
23 story, it is not the whole story. As much as
24 supply and demand is basic economics, so is market
25 power. That is the ability of firms to affect a

1 price in the market.

2 The refiners solve complex optimization
3 problems about how much oil to put through the
4 refinery and what to produce from it, changing
5 their mix. They have some flexibility in trading
6 off the mix, and they have a flexibility in how
7 much oil to run through.

8 When they think about that, what they
9 are trying to do is maximize their profits, that
10 is what a company should be doing in a deregulated
11 market. When they do that, they look at their
12 production costs, they look at the cost of oil,
13 they look at the price of the outputs. One of the
14 things a company has to consider, if they are
15 being responsible, is what their production is
16 going to do to the market. Not just responding to
17 the market, but realizing in some cases they will
18 affect the market.

19 That is the definition of market power
20 in economics. The fact that your production is
21 going to move the price in the market. I think it
22 is without question that the production of some of
23 these companies, pretty much all of the major
24 producers of California gasoline, affects the
25 price in the market.

1 We've seen that because outages clearly
2 drive -- a single refinery clearly drive the price
3 up. Once you recognize that fact, that changes in
4 production are going to affect the price in the
5 market, you have to recognize that responsible
6 firms simply out to maximize profits, are going to
7 take that into account.

8 What that means is when they think about
9 well, how much should we spend to get this unit
10 that went down for some reason up quickly, how
11 much is it worth to us. They think about well, if
12 they produce that extra gasoline, how much more
13 would they make. They would also think about if
14 we don't produce that extra gasoline, how much
15 would the price go up. That's just got to be part
16 of the calculation. It's a natural part of it.

17 There is, by the way, nothing illegal in
18 that behavior under US Anti-Trust Laws. In fact,
19 unilateral exercise of market power, the simple
20 recognition that prices are affected by my output,
21 is I would argue as natural a part of the
22 economics of markets as supply and demand are.

23 In the California gasoline market, there
24 are a number of large producers with Chevron.
25 This is a graph of the capacity shares of

1 production in the California market. This is
2 actually the through-put shares, not the gasoline
3 production shares, which are not publicly
4 available. Approximate the through-put shares to
5 a great extent, and it is clear that these larger
6 producers in the market are able to affect price.
7 That is when they produce more by any significant
8 amount relative to their total production, it is
9 going to drive the price in the market.

10 Now these are not the only players in
11 the market for California CARB gasoline, but they
12 are the major producers, and certainly the larger
13 ones here recognize and probably even the ones
14 down to Tesoro and Exxon Mobile, recognize that
15 their production decisions drive price.

16 The more benign way of saying that is
17 they recognize that if they put more product on
18 the market, that is going to drive the price down.
19 The more inflammatory way of saying it is they
20 recognize that if they take product off the
21 market, it is going to drive the price up. You
22 are making the statement either way, that is, that
23 firms are going to have some degree of market
24 power.

25 Will they exercise it? I would actually

1 frankly be shocked if they didn't exercise it in
2 the sense that when making these complex dynamic
3 optimization decisions, they took into account the
4 fact that their production decisions are going to
5 affect price, and that will give them an incentive
6 to produce less than they otherwise would.

7 How great is that affect? That depends
8 on a couple of things. The ability of a firm to
9 exercise market power depends on how much its
10 production is going to drive price.

11 That has two components to it. One is
12 how much does price change the demand in the
13 market. Consumers, for instance, are very
14 sensitive to the price of the product. If you try
15 to produce less and drive the price up, it won't
16 drive the price up very much, it will just cut
17 your sales a lot because as soon as you start
18 driving prices up, consumers will buy a whole lot
19 less. That is called demand elasticity.

20 That constrains the ability of firms to
21 exercise market power because if consumers are
22 going to respond quickly and not buy very much,
23 you can't make much more money by producing less.

24 The other potential constraint in the
25 market is on the supply side. If I am one of the

1 producers, my ability to exercise market power,
2 controlling for what demanders will do, depends on
3 what the other suppliers will do.

4 If I am in a situation where when I cut
5 back, there are some other producer who can
6 immediately replace that supply because they have
7 plenty of excess capacity. That is really going
8 to constrain my ability to exercise market power.

9 On the other hand, if I am in a
10 situation where the whole market is very
11 constrained, is at its capacity for production,
12 then I will know that when I produce a little
13 less, the other producers will be in a much weaker
14 position to actually take advantage of the higher
15 resulting prices by producing more, which then
16 drives the prices back down again. They won't be
17 able to do that because they don't have any more
18 capacity to utilize at the extreme.

19 The real question here is what is the
20 net effect here, and unfortunately as we say in
21 the report, we don't have estimates of this. We
22 don't have an estimate of how much of these
23 margins in the California market are market power
24 and how much are to scarcity. We argue in the
25 paper that it is actually extremely difficult to

1 diagnose short run market power certainly. That
2 is to essentially second guess the refiners and
3 say boy, we know you are producing this much, but
4 we think you could have squeezed a little more out
5 of this refinery and it still would have made
6 sense economically, but for the fact that you were
7 trying to crank up prices.

8 Refining is very different from for
9 instance the electricity industry. It is
10 different in a number of ways as Commissioner
11 Pfannenstiel referred to. One of the ways is the
12 production process is much more complex, and as a
13 result, it is much more difficult to tell whether
14 a producer -- I almost said generator, because in
15 the electricity industry, that is what we are
16 talking about -- is actually producing all they
17 can economically.

18 Producers of gasoline in California are
19 not only making marginal decisions of how much oil
20 to run through the refinery, but also how much
21 gasoline versus other products to produce from it.

22 It is a very complex process, and I
23 think realistically, the regulator would have very
24 little chance of helpfully second guessing the
25 process.

1 Actually before I move on to talk about
2 storage, let me just make one other point. When
3 we think about supply response, we can think about
4 those other producers in this market and how close
5 they are to capacity and so forth. In the very
6 very short run, that is probably all there is.

7 In the slightly longer run, there's more
8 room for supply response, and that is from other
9 refineries outside California that can make CARB
10 gasoline. There are a few of them, but there are
11 actually only a few of them that are really ready
12 to make CARB gasoline. With some lag for
13 delivery, a couple of weeks, they can produce more
14 CARB gasoline if the margins are high enough.

15 As you go to a longer time period,
16 months, there are other refineries that can make
17 adjustments in their refining process to at least
18 squeeze out some CARB gasoline. As you go to a
19 still longer perhaps months, maybe into the years
20 now, there are refineries that can retro-fit in
21 order to be ready to produce quite a significant
22 quantity.

23 One of the pieces of good news that has
24 come out of our price spikes in California are
25 margin spikes I am going to call them to

1 distinguish from the higher oil prices that are a
2 significant part of our high prices, is that there
3 has been some response from outside the state.

4 I know of one example because I got
5 called by a reporter from Washington state who was
6 doing a story in which he was quite upset, people
7 were upset that a refinery in Washington state was
8 retro-fitting to produce CARB gasoline. Their
9 concern was this was going to reduce the supply of
10 gasoline in Washington state. As a result, it
11 might drive up Washington state gasoline prices to
12 which I said that is right. That is how markets
13 work. If there are higher margins selling your
14 product somewhere else, markets respond, and they
15 try to sell their products elsewhere.

16 California is experiencing much higher
17 margins, and I will try to explain why I think
18 those are probably permanently higher margins,
19 than we had over the previous eight years going up
20 to 2003. That is inducing some other refiners in
21 other locations to retro-fit to produce CARB
22 gasoline. That is good news. It is not a
23 complete solution to the problem, but I think it
24 will have some effect.

25 When we think about this sort of market

1 power problem, we have to recognize that while it
2 is the case, as I said it is very difficult for a
3 regulator to second guess production decisions, I
4 think it is also very difficult for the industry
5 to argue that it is clear that they are not
6 exercising market power. First of all, it is sort
7 of anti-economic, and if a firm actually claimed
8 that, you would wonder why their CEO is not
9 recognizing the fact that their production affects
10 price.

11 Secondly, in a market with that sort of
12 supply curve that I showed -- I am not sure how to
13 go backwards here. In a market like this, if you
14 are in the D 2 position, it doesn't take much
15 restriction of output to drive prices through the
16 roof.

17 By the same token, it would be extremely
18 difficult to diagnose whether a firm was doing
19 that because you would not see huge changes in the
20 production of a firm, you would see very small
21 changes. I think second guessing those sorts of
22 changes is even more challenging and less likely
23 to result in a firm case one way or the other on
24 market power.

25 Having said that, let me discuss a

1 couple of issues that sort affect this whole
2 analysis. The first one is of course storage.
3 One of the ways in which electricity is very
4 different from gasoline is that gasoline is
5 storable.

6 Storage helps to reduce the scarcity in
7 a market and the market power impact of transitory
8 supply/demand mismatches. For instance, as we all
9 know, every spring the industry builds up stocks
10 of gasoline because they don't have the capacity
11 in the summer, and everybody knows the summer is
12 going to be a heavy driving season, to meet that
13 demand.

14 Unlike the electricity market, where you
15 get huge price spikes and you should because you
16 are getting real time shortages, in the gasoline
17 market you can relieve that to some extent by
18 building up stocks in advance.

19 There's a limit to how much you can do
20 that way. One is the limit of storage, and the
21 other is the cost of storage. That is the storage
22 has to make enough money, essentially, off the
23 high price/low price arbitrage to make it worth to
24 maintain and build storage.

25 You won't perfectly off set these price

1 variations, but storage would certainly limit the
2 degree to which prices will spike when demand in a
3 predictable way goes up.

4 In California what we have seen is
5 storage has clearly had that effect to some
6 extent, but there is a limit to it for two
7 reasons. One is how much storage there is
8 actually available, and the other is how much
9 extra capacity there is in other times to build up
10 storage for the peak times. If you don't have the
11 ability to produce a lot of extra gasoline at off
12 peak times so to speak, you are not going to have
13 as much in storage or if you don't have the
14 storage facilities, you are not going to have as
15 much storage.

16 One of the interesting twists the
17 storage side brings up is the potential for market
18 power in storage. That is if somebody can cause
19 there to be barriers to entry in producing new
20 storage facilities, then that actually could cause
21 a problem in the storage side of the business.

22 For instance, a company that is already
23 in this business already has storage facilities
24 really doesn't want entry by the state or by
25 anyone else into the storage business. They make

1 their money off the spread. More storage is going
2 to narrow the spread. That is a strong private
3 reason why storers might oppose the state getting
4 into the business. I think there are actually
5 good public policy reasons also to oppose the
6 state getting into the business.

7 It also might lead to incentives by
8 other companies and particularly one concern is
9 pipeline companies that can make it more difficult
10 for a company to get into the storage business by
11 making it more difficult potentially for accessing
12 the storage through pipelines.

13 Lastly, let me talk about imports and
14 market power because I think this is where
15 ultimately the state is going. Demand is
16 continuing to expand. Supply is not in this
17 state. We get some expansion each year within the
18 existing footprints of the refineries, but I have
19 heard, and I tend to believe that they are
20 starting to run into real constraints in doing
21 that. As a result, the state is going from being
22 a large net exporter in the mid '90's and now
23 being a net importer a significant amount of the
24 time.

25 Imports, we trade with other states in

1 lots of things. I don't think there is anything
2 wrong with that trade, and I don't think
3 California should expect to be self sufficient in
4 gasoline anymore than it should be expected to be
5 self sufficient in furniture or lots of other
6 goods or milk or whatever.

7 We do have to make sure that the ability
8 to import is available and is not impeded in any
9 way. We do have to recognize what the actual
10 affect of that is due to transportation costs.

11 What happens in a competitive market is
12 that imports will limit the rents, the extra
13 profits that in-state producers can achieve either
14 through scarcity, real scarcity, or through
15 artificial scarcity caused by market power.

16 They won't eliminate it entirely. In
17 the gasoline situation in California, there are
18 two constraints on that. One is that there are
19 transportation costs, so supplying the same
20 product in California if you are a refiner on the
21 Gulf Coast, costs more than supplying it if you
22 are a refiner in California. There is a
23 transportation margin, and that is going to get
24 built into the price in a completely competitive
25 market because the margin supplier in a completely

1 competitive market sets the price. If the
2 marginal supplier has these additional costs, that
3 is going to get built into the price.

4 The second aspect of this is the time
5 lag. Now, if the State runs into a sudden
6 shortage, for instance, a large refinery goes
7 down, a refiner with extra capacity in the State
8 is going to be able to respond much more rapidly
9 than a refiner with extra capacity outside the
10 State.

11 That lag is going to cause there to be
12 some spike. Now how large will that spike be will
13 be mitigated to a great extent by the storage of
14 product in the state. If there is a lot of
15 capacity to store product, those spikes will be
16 mitigated a great deal. If there is less
17 capacity, then they wouldn't.

18 I should say, though, it is not optimal
19 to try to eliminate all of the spikes. If we do
20 really have a shortage, the price should spike in
21 order to allocate that limited quantity and allow
22 people to make good economic decisions.

23 It is also not optimal to build so much
24 storage that you always have extra storage
25 capacity and extra product, so prices never go up

1 and down. You can do it, but it is really not
2 economic. You would be building way more storage.
3 That is essentially, by the way, what we did in
4 the electricity industry in a similar way by
5 building way too much capacity under regulation,
6 so that we always had we had plenty of extra
7 capacity. We ended up paying for all that extra
8 capacity.

9 What happens in a competitive market
10 with imports is you have a supply that is in-
11 state, which is the lower supply curve here, and
12 that is vastly over dramatized there for effect,
13 just to make it clear what is going on. Is that
14 you have a supply curve here that is the in-state
15 supply, and that you could very well live on in-
16 state supply if demand is low enough. Eventually,
17 if demand keeps growing, you are going to start
18 running into cases where in-state supply gets
19 tight enough that the price goes up enough that it
20 actually encourages imports.

21 Eventually, I think what we are likely
22 to end up with is demand permanently out in this
23 range. If demand is permanently out in this
24 range, you could still have a completely
25 competitive market, but it is going to have a

1 permanent transportation premium built into the
2 price.

3 Realistically as demand continues to
4 grow in the west, I think it is quite likely that
5 we will not end up supplying California from
6 imports from the rest of PADD V, the western
7 market. That we will eventually, the marginal
8 supply if we don't build anymore capacity in the
9 west, will start coming from other parts of the
10 country or the world. If that is the case, this
11 price difference will be permanently built into
12 the market price, and that price difference for
13 the rest of the world is probably between 10 and
14 20 cents.

15 For eight years, California had margins
16 that averaged about eight to twelve cents above
17 the margins in the rest of the country. That was
18 about the differential necessary to cover the
19 additional marginal and capital cost of producing
20 CARB gasoline.

21 We now are pretty clearly in a permanent
22 regime or a long-term regime anyway in which those
23 margins are twenty cents or more different.

24 My belief is that this is what we are
25 seeing. We are seeing a permanent import supply

1 margin built in to the price. That is just the
2 reality of where we are.

3 Is there this market power? Yeah, it
4 may be at times market power if you are close,
5 demand is pretty close, that a firm in-state has
6 the incentive to withhold the little supply to
7 push the price up to the import level. That is
8 probably not the over-arching problem we face.

9 The over-arching problem we face is that
10 as imports become the marginal supply, there is
11 just going to be a permanent import transportation
12 premium built into the price. That is a problem
13 for producers, a problem for consumers, and it is
14 a bonus for producers. If you happen to be an in-
15 state producer, you make money.

16 People have suggested regulating
17 gasoline prices for all the reasons I've talked
18 about. I think that is a bad idea. It is
19 extremely difficult to diagnose how much of the
20 premium is market power. If you get it wrong too
21 low, you will discourage production of gasoline or
22 distribution of gasoline in California, and you
23 will cause gas lines. There is a real asymmetry
24 in the costs of getting it wrong. A price that is
25 slightly too high costs a few extra cents a

1 gallon. A price that is set slightly too low,
2 costs us 45 minutes in line waiting for gasoline.

3 I remember the California gasoline lines
4 in the late '70's well enough to know which one I
5 prefer.

6 In the longer run, I think we have to
7 recognize the fact that the problem we face is
8 almost certainly a real supply problem that the
9 state is going to have to address because of the
10 special gasoline we use and because of the fact
11 that we haven't had any refiner built in
12 California since the 1960's.

13 There have been a number of suggestions,
14 and I will finish up very quickly here since I
15 think I'm about out of time. A state strategic
16 fuel reserve, I actually was on the Attorney
17 General's Gasoline Task Force in the late '90's.
18 We looked at this problem. I was the head of the
19 sub-committee on this. We did not find a good
20 argument for why this state should get into this
21 market process in substitute for private
22 investment in storage.

23 There are strong incentives. Are they
24 strong enough? Well, the question is, is there
25 enough variation peaked off to pay for the storage

1 facilities, and we didn't see any real barriers to
2 getting into that business with some possible
3 exceptions that people raise about tax treatment,
4 which I won't go into here.

5 There are some switch over issues about
6 changing from summer to winter fuel that might be
7 smooth some. We have made a proposal for during
8 what you might think of super price spikes to
9 allow non-California RFG into the state, "dirtier
10 Gasoline" still meeting federal reformulation with
11 a fee, using that fee to offset the pollution by
12 buying back old cars. A simple calculation shows
13 that you could easily more than offset the extra
14 pollution, at least for quite a while by buying
15 back old cars with the money from the variance.

16 There has been intervention in closing
17 in the Shell Refinery closure. That is a very
18 interesting case, I don't have time to talk about
19 it. It is clear that it could be caused by a real
20 lack of economics in that refinery, and it could
21 be caused by Shell's market power. It is probably
22 some of both.

23 The possibility that the State might
24 help bolster long term fuel markets by the State
25 itself doing its purchasing of fuel through these

1 long term markets in order to build those long
2 term markets, what those long term markets do is
3 improve the stability of long term contract prices
4 and potentially make investment in the industry
5 more attractive.

6 I think I am out of time. I will stop
7 there. Thank you.

8 COMMISSIONER BOYD: Thank you, Severin.

9 Severin, a couple of quick comments.
10 Those of us who have to spend more time thinking
11 and worrying about economics have long recognized
12 what the term "market power" as you defined it
13 means and how it is a regular player in the
14 economic arena. Market power has taken on a very
15 negative connotation for the general public.
16 Unfortunately, I guess, since the '99/200 event,
17 and we have to deal with this.

18 I am not defending anybody out there,
19 but I just want to point out that we spend a lot
20 of time on the subject of market power because it
21 has a general public negative connotation. It
22 means something bad, and I appreciate your once
23 again reminding us it is part of the democratic
24 economic system and to a certain point, until it
25 gets immoral if not illegal, it is just there to

1 be dealt with.

2 The other thing that I appreciated was
3 your discussion of imports vis-a-vis -- well, and
4 the statement that this State used to be net
5 exporter now we are a net importer because what I
6 have learned down through the years is that the
7 whole system is built around the concept of
8 regional markets. The regions were historically
9 bigger than the State of California. Refineries
10 were on the coast because it is closer to points
11 where you can import the crude in addition to
12 using your own native crude.

13 Now we are a net exporter, and a lot of
14 people have -- your little anecdote about
15 Washington reminds me of we've been dealing with a
16 lot of people who are incensed over the idea that
17 we would allow California scarce gasoline to find
18 its way to Nevada and Arizona during these times,
19 yet that is the way the system was built. In each
20 case, they are either 100 percent dependent or
21 highly dependent on that gasoline receipt or they
22 are in big trouble. So, we have a regional
23 problem as well as just a California state
24 problem.

25 I don't know if you have any additional

1 comments. I just wanted to thank you for bringing
2 those to our attention.

3 MR. BORENSTEIN: Yeah, I think it is
4 important to keep in mind that these markets are
5 very closely intertwined, and this sort of idea
6 that in an emergency what we should do is shut
7 down our borders and be self-sufficient in any
8 product, I think, is generally a knee jerk
9 response and almost never the right response in
10 public policy.

11 COMMISSIONER BOYD: Now I had that
12 feeling once during the heights of the electricity
13 crisis when the Las Vegas Airport was begging for
14 jet fuel, and I kept thinking of all those lights
15 that are on in Las Vegas --

16 MR. BORENSTEIN: And the air conditioned
17 sidewalks.

18 COMMISSIONER BOYD: - etc., etc., but we
19 didn't go there in any event. Thank you.

20 Jacky, any --

21 COMMISSIONER PFANNENSTIEL: No.

22 COMMISSIONER BOYD: Thanks very much,
23 Severin.

24 Okay, Dr. Verleger, you are up, and
25 welcome again.

1 DR. VERLEGER: Thank you very much. Let
2 me start by saying with a standard disclaimer, I
3 was invited here by the CEC, and it is good to be
4 back. The work I am going to present has been
5 sponsored by the Western States Petroleum
6 Association, but I am personally responsible for
7 all the content. It is mine, not theirs.

8 I will also say this research is part of
9 a book that I am writing as a Senior Fellow at the
10 Institute for International Economics. I get to
11 live in Aspen, Colorado. I used to live here in
12 California, but I am working out of Aspen.

13 COMMISSIONER BOYD: I'll ask you the
14 price of gasoline in Aspen later, but not right
15 now.

16 DR. VERLEGER: It is 20 cents a gallon
17 higher than in California. It has to do with the
18 fact that there's one person who owns all the
19 gasoline stations in the upper end of the valley.

20 COMMISSIONER BOYD: I believe that is
21 the subject --

22 DR. VERLEGER: There is a 45 cent a
23 gallon difference between the bottom and the top.
24 The advantage of Aspen is we walk and we bike.

25 The research I am working on is titled,

1 "The Gathering Storm". I am going to find a new
2 title because a certain other author once used it
3 before.

4 What it describes is the situation that
5 is building in the world energy market which one
6 might define as an economic hurricane. One in
7 which we have seen the outer most squall. The
8 problem comes from a combination of lack of
9 investment across the globe and critical
10 infrastructure over the last several years, very
11 similar to the lack of investment that took place
12 between 1967 and 1972 combined with an extremely
13 rapid growth in China and India.

14 There is a paper on the IIE website by
15 this title and summarizes the initial paper and
16 builds on the problem, and I will refer you there.

17 My profession is as a writer, an
18 economist, academic on energy markets. I realized
19 last weekend, I think I have been doing this since
20 1972, which is more than 12,000 days. I have seen
21 a lot happen over that time. I have probably
22 written more academically and professionally about
23 the economics of oil futures markets and commodity
24 markets than anybody else in the world. I have
25 been studying them for 20 years.

1 I am going to start with just a couple
2 quick comments about the futures market. We heard
3 about a discussion about a two year, three year
4 forward futures price. I have been following it
5 for a long time, and the economists picked one of
6 the graphs that I have been using for years and
7 ran it in August.

8 Prices have increased dramatically. I
9 make a comment, and I always make reference to the
10 literature from the agricultural economics,
11 literature that unfortunately energy economics
12 seem never to want to read, but Jeffrey Williams
13 is probably the leading authority and the one I
14 cite most often.

15 Futures prices don't tell us much about
16 what is going to happen in the future. In an
17 article in a (indiscernible) review of
18 agricultural economics that came out a year or two
19 ago, Jeff has a very good point there about the
20 forecasting capacity of agricultural futures
21 prices.

22 The same thing is true for oil futures
23 prices. One way to think about it is if you go
24 back three years ago and look at what the oil
25 futures market said the price would be on October

1 12, 2004, you would find it was \$21 a barrel or
2 thereabouts. This morning it was \$54.

3 That gets me to a key question before I
4 blend into this of why oil is hitting \$50. The
5 word I used to explain it is arbitrage. Arbitrage
6 is not a card game that was invented at Cal Tech.
7 Prices have been pulled up by gas oil, which is
8 the European version of distillate fuel oil. If
9 you wake up in the morning early and you follow
10 the IPE, International Petroleum Exchange, you can
11 find that the movement from about \$300 a ton to
12 \$500 a ton between middle August and today has
13 been paralleled by brand crude.

14 What has happened is, Europeans have
15 been looking for heating oil disparately, they
16 didn't stock up. The Germans tend to wait until
17 the last minute and look for low prices. In July
18 they saw the high prices, thanks to our gasoline,
19 and said we will wait. August they didn't start
20 stocking up, so now winter is coming, and they are
21 buying.

22 That is also being pulled up by Chinese
23 and Indian demand. China has a refining system
24 that cannot process Saudi crude because of the
25 sulphur content. They are bidding up the crude

1 prices.

2 If you look at product price versus
3 crude prices, you find there is a relatively
4 perfect arbitrage, that is buying the lower item
5 and selling the higher item. It is so good that
6 if you build a model, and the model I had was
7 published in the Review of Economics and
8 Statistics in 1981, you give me a price of crude
9 oil any time say the middle of 1995 and tell me
10 the change in the principal product prices from
11 that day to today, and I can come within about 15
12 cents of telling you what the crude oil price is.

13 This model works because, in fact, there
14 is just an efficient arbitrage between buying
15 product and buying crude, and right now we have a
16 heating oil problem. It is going to go away. We
17 have seen crisis like this. I am old enough to
18 remember in metals, buyers double and triple
19 buying steel back in the early 70's when there was
20 shortages. At some point, everybody had all the
21 steel and copper they needed, and then prices just
22 suddenly dove. That is what is going to happen
23 this time.

24 The background on oil. I've worked with
25 the Justice Department on investigations of the

1 1996 crisis. I have advised the FTC on mergers.
2 I've also beaten on the head of the FTC people,
3 Commissioner Murris that the FTC policy while
4 preserving competition in the petroleum industry
5 and mergers, has destroyed capacity with a net
6 effect that I think now leads me to believe we are
7 paying about 15 cents a gallon more due to the FTC
8 merger policy, which has lead to a loss in
9 capacity. I was also on Bill Lockyear's task
10 force.

11 Let me turn to the presentation. I read
12 the Borenstein paper with hope, and I was rather
13 frustrated as I read through it because I have
14 been doing this for so long, working in the
15 government, working in the treasury, advising on
16 this issue, and I know it is politically charged.

17 I find the double negatives in some of
18 the sentences frightening. For example,
19 "Dismissals of the idea that firms in California
20 RFG market would be able to drive prices above the
21 competitive level are not well founded." I think
22 one needs to have clearer, harder evidence before
23 making statements like that.

24 "At periods of peak demands produces
25 market power have an added incentive to cut

1 production." They may have an incentive, but on
2 the other hand, one of the points I will make is
3 when Arizona had troubles, one company converted
4 some CARB gasoline to Arizona RFG which isn't very
5 hard, you actually do the instantaneous blending,
6 sent the product to Arizona, and then rushed to
7 bring blending components from refiners in Korea
8 who can't make CARB gasoline. One thing that is
9 not well understood is you can get the pieces to
10 make it and bring it here. They paid extra for
11 the transportation. By the time it got here, they
12 lost money.

13 That is not what you would expect. You
14 are looking for balance. Speaking of Arizona, I
15 will note, as you know, even if you wanted to stop
16 gasoline from flowing to Nevada or Arizona, under
17 the commerce clause of the constitution, you can't
18 do it. By and large we are better off because of
19 the Constitution.

20 Third, California prices exceed U.S.
21 average prices by an amount approximately over the
22 long run cost of CARB. Recently CARB gasoline had
23 exceeded U.S. averages by an amount that is much
24 greater than the cost differential.

25 Go back to the gathering storm. One of

1 the problems is we haven't built enough ships.
2 So, today it may cost 40 cents a gallon to move
3 product from the Gulf Coast here. I won't go on.

4 Let me come with some facts. The
5 relevant economic market is not California, but
6 includes at least four other states: Washington,
7 Oregon, Nevada, and Arizona. Empirical evidence,
8 if you go across these implies market power, the
9 absence of market power.

10 The third point I am going to make is
11 gasoline is not electricity for a whole set of
12 reasons. I was living in Newport Beach when the
13 lights went out. They are very different.

14 Fourth, as we heard West Coast consumers
15 are becoming more dependent on gasoline imports
16 from other areas, and this increase in imports
17 dilutes whatever non-existent market power exists.

18 Let me start with the relevant market.
19 Borenstein had all focused on California markets.
20 The FTC has concluded that the relevant market is
21 a Continental PADD V. A PADD V is the petroleum
22 administration district for defense that were
23 created during World War II. California, Oregon,
24 Washington, Nevada, Arizona are part of it as are
25 Alaska and Hawaii.

1 For many reasons, we exclude Hawaii and
2 Alaska. They are quite a ways away, and they are
3 self-contained.

4 California receives California
5 reformulated gasoline from Washington. California
6 ships CARB-like gasoline to Arizona and Nevada and
7 ships gasoline to Oregon. Oregon does not use RFG
8 to my knowledge.

9 The FTC, as I said, just issued a major
10 study on the structure of the petroleum industry
11 in August 2004. One of the points I learned in
12 connection with the Shell/Texaco merger is that if
13 a refinery in California produces all CARB
14 gasoline, it has extremely high marginal costs,
15 which means you don't want a high price because
16 you wind up producing some by-products that you
17 just can't do anything with.

18 Whereas, if an active refinery produces
19 some conventional gasoline and some CARB gasoline
20 and trades -- you know we talk about trading with
21 Japan, well we trade with Washington. We ship the
22 conventional gasoline to Washington, bring back
23 the CARB gasoline, that marginal cost drops by as
24 much as 10 cents a gallon. In terms of refining
25 margin, that is a big number. You want to promote

1 that kind synergy.

2 One of the real losses we suffered in
3 mergers is in Washington there are two refineries.
4 One was owned by Texaco, one was owned by Shell.
5 They were side by side. It was the last
6 opportunity really we had on the West Coast to
7 create a truly giant refinery that was modern
8 where you could reduce water pollution, reduce air
9 pollution, perhaps even double the output of the
10 refinery had you modernized it.

11 The FTC using its Herfendal approach, in
12 terms of they apply to cookie manufacturers and
13 everything else, require that Shell sell it and
14 Tesoro bought it, we lost that opportunity leaving
15 aside what Tesoro has done with it or anybody
16 else. The synergies and economies of scale that
17 could have been achieved there were really
18 remarkable.

19 If you look at market power in terms of
20 this business, it exists only in rare
21 circumstances. What I mean is the ability of a
22 firm to raise, make more money, revenue, by
23 cutting production. That is, Borenstein correctly
24 described the very good work on the electricity
25 crisis where power could be cut.

1 Depends on your market share and it
2 depends on your price elasticity of demand. Price
3 elasticity and demand of gasoline is a ram minus
4 .1 in the short run, three months, minus .2 for a
5 year.

6 Those numbers are numbers that Hank
7 Houthakker, who was a professor at Harvard, and I
8 produced in 1973, and for years it was the seminal
9 study, you can still apply these models, this
10 model, and predict very accurately the effect of
11 short term, intermediate term, and long term
12 gasoline price increases. There being at least
13 1,000 maybe 10,000 studies that have been done
14 subsequently, and all of them come within the same
15 range. I will say with some pride it is because
16 we structured the study right at the time.

17 Using these elasticity, it is unlikely
18 that any West Coast firm can increase its revenues
19 by cutting gasoline sales. The hard data are not
20 available. Brian knows that I almost -- I have
21 been pushing to get good data on market shares for
22 the five states. California produces good data
23 for companies. We haven't got it yet. It is on
24 our "To Do" list.

25 The Borenstein presentation is a little

1 deceptive because they present data on California
2 refining capacity, not on market share. The
3 correct market share data, which are available,
4 show a very different picture.

5 I think the data for the four contiguous
6 states would show that there is even less
7 potential market power, but we don't have the data
8 yet. What I did a graph that compares the
9 refining capacity that Borenstein had all put
10 together with a market share data that are
11 available from the Excise Tax Bureau.

12 What you can see is the big difference
13 is for Chevron, and I chose the sticker symbols to
14 make the graph larger, they show one company
15 having almost 30 percent of the market in terms of
16 refining capacity, whereas when you take the
17 market share, they are less than 20 percent, twice
18 that.

19 The answer is Chevron supplies Oregon
20 from California also supplies Arizona and Nevada.
21 You see the BP share is higher than Shell because
22 BP brings product down, I presume, not knowing it
23 from its refinery in Washington, so it is a very
24 different picture.

25 The other thing is, there is a little

1 item "other" which is not present in the
2 Borenstein study that's more than 10 percent
3 because California gets imports of gasoline from a
4 number of sources.

5 The second point in my presentation is
6 gasoline is not electricity. There is an
7 insinuation which bothers me that gasoline and
8 electricity are very similar with similar options
9 for suppliers and similar consequences, and these
10 are wrong.

11 There are several major differences.
12 One, gasoline consumers can choose among
13 suppliers. If I touch one of these electricity
14 switches, I don't know who is supplying the
15 electricity. When I go buy my gasoline, I go to a
16 Shell station, or I go to a Costco or I go to a
17 Arco/BP station or a Chevron, I know who I'm
18 purchasing from. I have learned through some
19 tough experience giving speeches that companies
20 actually really work hard on their brand name.
21 Brand does have value.

22 One of the ways is gas is a
23 differentiated product in both service and
24 quality. Right now, the auto industry is pushing
25 hard to create what they call "top tier"

1 gasolines. The oil industry has had nothing to do
2 with this. The auto industry wants more additives
3 put in the gasoline because they are having
4 trouble meeting some of the environmental
5 standards, and they say they want better
6 injection. Thus, it is a classic battle between
7 two industries. The auto industry wants the cost
8 put on the oil industry, the oil industry says,
9 look, we are producing a quality that meets all
10 the environmental specifications.

11 We also know that every consumer here in
12 California knows you can go to an Arco station and
13 get a lower price, pay cash or debit card, or you
14 can go to a Chevron station and even get full
15 service. I mean there is a very big
16 differentiation. To my knowledge, there is no
17 much differentiation in electricity.

18 Third, Severin Borenstein has made a
19 very good point on the electricity issues, about
20 the need for electricity meters to know what the
21 price of electricity is and what it costs.

22 Houthakker and Lester Taylor, a
23 professor at Arizona, and I wrote papers back in
24 the 70's saying, hey, you've seen different
25 results for demand for electricity than gasoline

1 because the price isn't as well known.

2 You can drive down the street and when
3 you go in to buy gasoline, if you don't know the
4 price in California it is because you weren't
5 looking.

6 In Colorado, you don't have to do that,
7 the place I go into which had a price of \$3.00 a
8 gallon for premium, you have to look closely.

9 Fourth, the world's largest
10 intermediary, Wal Mart and Costco also, is
11 becoming a growing presence in the gasoline
12 market. The Wal Mart I will tell you is very
13 different from the California Power Exchange in
14 terms of its buying habits. They invented elbow
15 wrestling.

16 What we are seeing is a different
17 picture. At the end of the FTC study, there is
18 one paragraph -- there is a section on hyper
19 markets, the last paragraph focuses on San Diego
20 where four hyper markets have come in, Costcos
21 came in and with less than one half of one tenth
22 percent of number of stations have 3 percent of
23 the volume. You can see their entry in looking at
24 the differentials between San Diego and Los
25 Angeles retail prices. It used to be that there

1 was a big difference, they have narrowed it down.

2 Petroleum inventories, speculate
3 holding. At this point, I think -- I have just
4 completed with the National Petroleum Council a
5 major study on inventories in the industry. It
6 would be nice if there were speculative stocks,
7 there aren't any, especially prices of \$50 a
8 barrel.

9 At \$50 a barrel, a refining company if
10 it is holding 40 days of inventories for basic
11 operation and everything, needs a line of credit,
12 \$2 billion per billion barrels a day of refining
13 capacity. That is not a problem for the really
14 big integrated companies which have huge reserves
15 and cash balances, but it is a difficult problem
16 for some of the smaller companies.

17 One of the companies in the East,
18 Premcor seems to be having a good deal of trouble
19 with this, getting enough cash to hold
20 inventories. Bank just look at this and say well,
21 there is this risk. There are these kooks out
22 here who told us if prices could get to \$50 and
23 are now maybe worried about \$30, we don't want to
24 lend for inventories to companies.

25 What has happened is refiners across the

1 globe have become much more efficient. They are
2 able to operate now with much lower stocks most of
3 the time. The study reviews supported by the MPC
4 study, there isn't -- I haven't illuminated one
5 problem. You break the infrastructure problem
6 delivery system at all, refineries shut down.
7 Several did shut down because they couldn't get
8 oil.

9 I have been using this chart for years.
10 It is data collected by the Energy Intelligence
11 Group which publishes PIW, and it shows working
12 days, days of supply, that is inventories divided
13 by consumption of oil and held in OECD country
14 refineries that are commercially available. That
15 is in the oil system, you need oil in the
16 pipelines, those aren't commercially available
17 just to make the pipelines work. You need oil in
18 tanks to run refineries. We have seen this drop
19 from around 22 days down to as low as 5 days
20 recently.

21 We are becoming more independent on
22 imports. Gasoline demand is increasing at a
23 faster rate than indigenous production. Detroit
24 sold us all on these SUV's, but Detroit didn't
25 build the refineries to provide the gasoline to

1 operate the SUV's. The government has made it
2 difficult to expand refining capacity.

3 Replacement of MTBE with ethanol has
4 further cut supply out here. These trends will
5 continue. Imports will have to increase. It was
6 pointed out by the previous speaker, that means
7 that California gasoline will have to rise the
8 cost of Gulf Coast gasoline modified, whether it
9 is blending stocks that come from any refinery or
10 specific CARB gasoline modified plus
11 transportation.

12 I did a simple chart, and
13 (indiscernible) Girth provided me with some other
14 charts. If you look at the sources of West Coast
15 gasoline supply from 1990 to 2003, and this is all
16 of PADD V, you see that there has been a small
17 share of imported products.

18 (Indiscernible) Girth provides more
19 detail on it in terms of the sources of them, a
20 million barrels per day, and that should be a
21 thousand barrels a day. As you go across, it is a
22 mix now with foreign being a larger supply source
23 than domestic.

24 Sources of gasoline imports for the last
25 nineteen months rank Canada, other Western

1 Hemisphere which includes St. Crouix, the Virgin
2 Islands, which is treated as a foreign country for
3 foreign trade purposes, Europe, Asia, the Middle
4 East, and other. Some of this is conventional
5 gasoline, some of this is CARB blending stocks,
6 some of this is CARB.

7 Four years ago in connection with the
8 Attorney General's study, I prepared a report
9 called "The California Cumundrum" and examined
10 gasoline showing that imports moved, rows fell
11 depending on the spread between the Gulf and the
12 California spa prices. What you see here is in
13 the yellow area, gasoline movements to PADD III to
14 PADD V, that's Houston primarily, and foreign
15 imports, what you see is the red line which is
16 graphed against the right is the differential for
17 CARBOB, that is the blending star for California
18 gasoline versus Houston gasoline. That has been
19 as high as \$0.55 a gallon back in August '03 when
20 we had the refinery problems, and it has been
21 trending around \$0.35 to \$0.40 a gallon recently.

22 As I said, it is going up because
23 transportation is going up. That differential has
24 to be enough to cover your transportation costs.

25 Now the increased dependence on imports

1 reduces the market shares of the seven refiners.
2 Even if there is market power, it is going down.
3 There are a large number of importers, and
4 refineries can't cast -- the seven companies count
5 for only half the imports. Now the importers may
6 deal directly with the independent intermediary
7 such as Costco or Tower Energy.

8 Tower Energy is not on this list, but in
9 the terms of gasoline volumes, they were 2 1/2
10 percent of gasoline supply here. The costs of
11 imports are going to rise, and they are going to
12 raise the prices for the reasons that import
13 parody theory, domestic prices go to the import
14 price. Like I said before, and I will say it
15 again, the cost of imports is being boosted by
16 very high transportation costs and inadequate
17 global investment in infrastructure, the lack of
18 ships.

19 Another element is the Chinese increase
20 their demand. It takes longer for a ship to go
21 from the Atlantic to China than to go from the
22 Atlantic to California. So, essentially, we are
23 losing shipping capacity as China grows.

24 If you take a breakdown of imports, what
25 you find is traders account for almost half,

1 California refiners account for almost half.
2 Foreign refiners, which would be primarily
3 (indiscernible) and Irving are a little tiny bit.

4 In a sense, imports are becoming more
5 important and because the California refiners are
6 only half that business, any market leverage or
7 market power is declining.

8 Conclusion then, the market power issue
9 can only be examined on a Continental PADD V
10 basis. None of the seven firms have a market
11 share to increase its revenue by cutting
12 production.

13 Gasoline is different from electricity,
14 there are intermediate gasoline buyers who are
15 interested in lowering costs unlike electricity.
16 By this, I mean Wal Mart, Costco, and any of these
17 companies that are trying to achieve the economy
18 of scale and scope for running big businesses.

19 The increasing dependence on imported
20 products will diminish the market share of
21 California refineries because of the source of
22 imports. Prices will rise because refinery
23 expansion and construction has been constrained.

24 What can you do about this? Our old
25 favorite, streamline infrastructure expansions.

1 It is not just here. The Gulf Coast, the East
2 Coast, the whole United States. One of the few
3 interesting elements in the Bush Energy Plan was
4 to kind of deal with this. Most of it was
5 terrible.

6 Second, reverse port policies that close
7 marine infrastructure. They are closing berths.
8 They want to close berths down in Long Beach. We
9 are going to have to bring more product into
10 California.

11 Some of that product that comes in to
12 Long Beach, California goes to LAX for
13 international airplane flights. Some of it may go
14 to Arizona or Nevada. Long Beach is becoming a
15 choke point for the whole west. These policies
16 need to be reversed or find another port to bring
17 the product in. All the pipelines go out from
18 there, so it is important there.

19 Third, recognize that the CEC CARB
20 Energy Policy Report chills the climate for
21 investment in petroleum infrastructure capacity.
22 It is going to lead to greater imports and likely
23 higher prices.

24 I have a very good friend in Japan who
25 used to be head of Tonin, which is one of the

1 independent refiners. Tonin was owned half and
2 half by Mobile and Exxon. He told me years ago
3 that he wasn't going to invest in new upgrading
4 capacity in Japan because it would take 25 years
5 to pay it out, and Japan was moving away -- this
6 was 1993 -- through hybrid cars and so on. The
7 investment would never pay out.

8 My friend whose family had owned that
9 company or a large portion of that company since
10 1880 and who had been forced to take these two
11 majors on by General McArthur was pushed out by
12 Exxon and Mobile, and so the Japanese in their
13 sense of wisdom and kind of reminding people who
14 is powerful, pointed to the Japanese Central Bank.
15 Recently he was one of the final two candidates to
16 be head of the Central Bank. Mr. Nakarara's point
17 that unless you can see a return on that
18 investment and these are very long lived
19 investments, it takes two or three years to permit
20 and everything else just adding a big addition at
21 a refinery, let alone a new refinery. It takes
22 years to pay out. He has a strong point to the
23 CEC. That is if the state is going to embark on a
24 policy to reduce gasoline demand by 15 percent by
25 2015, you are sending a signal to the oil industry

1 that no, you shouldn't be investing here because
2 the returns aren't going to be there. The demands
3 aren't going to be there.

4 If you are going to make good on that
5 forecast, that is fine, but you ought to recognize
6 in the intermediate period of time as demand grows
7 because the investment is not coming, prices are
8 going to go up a lot.

9 You need to be consistent and you need
10 to follow through and recognize that this policy
11 does influence, particularly since most of the big
12 companies that own the refineries here
13 headquarters are either in Texas or in London, or
14 in the Hague, and they are looking at these
15 markets. If you do planning and investment
16 decision and allocating capital, this is an
17 incentive not to allocate the capital to
18 California.

19 Additionally, push for full utilization
20 of the Longhorn Pipeline to augment supply to
21 Arizona and Nevada. That would help us. When the
22 Lockyear task force met in 1999, the Longhorn
23 Pipeline was being debated and fought in the
24 courts.

25 A Longhorn pipeline is a pipeline to

1 take product from Houston to El Paso, Texas. It
2 gets you to the border of New Mexico, you need
3 another pipeline to get it from Arizona to Tuscon
4 and then Phoenix. Then logically, you would
5 reverse the pipeline and bring it to Barstow so
6 you would have more flexibility.

7 That pipeline -- Attorney General
8 Lockyear's task force, I think it was 1999, that
9 pipeline is just now starting to fill five years
10 later.

11 That tells you something about the time
12 on energy infrastructure. The pipeline that goes
13 from -- nothing has been done about permitting,
14 finding the investment funds, getting the shippers
15 to expand the pipeline from El Paso to Tuscon.
16 What we've done is now we've got a lot of
17 gasoline. We can get a lot of gasoline as far as
18 El Paso, and we may be looking at another five
19 years before we can move it the next step.

20 That was one of our big issues. I think
21 I was talking to Lockyear and I talked to Carter
22 Montgomery who was pushing the thing, and I
23 brought the whole thing into the thing. Nobody
24 really focused on it. The other thing is push for
25 removal of the federal oxygenate mandate.

1 Lastly, before I go, I have to make a
2 couple of comments that were suggested here about
3 companies bringing up units if they go down. If
4 there is a refinery failure, companies might have
5 an incentive not to bring it back as quickly.

6 As I said, I have been following this
7 industry for 30 years as an academic, as a
8 consultant, quite frequently angering most of the
9 oil executives by talking about markets,
10 particularly futures markets.

11 One of the things that I have learned by
12 working with companies, though, from 1990 to 1993
13 I served on the Volaro Board, was that promotion
14 in these companies for chemical engineers, for
15 engineers that actual -- and it is hard to
16 actually find chemical engineers that are willing
17 to go work in a refinery rather than a nice cool
18 office -- promotion depends on you wind up with
19 units. It is units at refineries that fails,
20 usually not an entire refinery.

21 Promotion and success and moving ahead
22 in this business depends greatly on how
23 efficiently you operate your unit, how well you
24 are able to get the assigned products that you get
25 out of it, and how infrequently you have down

1 time, and how quickly you get back up if you have
2 down time.

3 This is one of the differences between
4 U.S. and Asian refinery businesses, is this is a
5 bottoms up business. Every time a unit goes down
6 for a turn around, you have to repair these units,
7 they make changes to it, and every time they come
8 back up, these engineers, and they are usually in
9 their 20's and early 30's, have managed to expand
10 the output. This is called creep. It comes way
11 ahead.

12 You don't get that in Asia because it is
13 all a top down organizational system. The Chinese
14 and so on and Taiwan and Korea, you are told what
15 to do and so we don't see creep over there. This
16 is all individual incentive and so on.

17 It is contrary to those kinds of
18 incentives to say well, we will take our time
19 bringing a unit back up. It just goes against the
20 promotional standards you see kind of the ratings
21 they have since this is a competitive business and
22 you are trying to work your way from running one
23 of these units in a fairly uncomfortable place
24 where it is hot and it is dangerous to a
25 comfortable office.

1 These people work their ass off. I
2 think one of the ways that one needs to look at
3 this is from the literature of Volly Williamson
4 from the University of Pennsylvania, an
5 organizational behavior bringing into economics
6 because we just do not see that sort of behavior.

7 As I said, when the Arizona crisis came,
8 there was a perfect opportunity for a display of
9 market power, and instead of that, what we saw is
10 companies bringing trucks from all the way across
11 the country and hiring three drivers so they can
12 drive 24 hours a day to get them down from Maine
13 to Arizona so they could truck it up. The
14 pipeline break was between Tuscon and Phoenix, so
15 they could bring the gasoline up to Arizona.

16 One company arranging to bring product
17 from Korea, pay a high price for the blind stock
18 to get over here, and working to blend it, and
19 then losing money on it, and then meantime
20 shipping out of their kind of working inventories
21 to Arizona to bring the thing down.

22 You don't see it. The empirical
23 evidence demonstrates exactly the opposite point.
24 Given the charge and given the problem we have,
25 and given the fact that OPEC has done such a

1 wonderful job of raising prices, I find it almost
2 disingenuous for a paper of this sort to kind of
3 suggest the behavior without going out and doing
4 some empirical work and without doing the event
5 studies.

6 I think you saw on the Finazza paper, if
7 you went through that, in the case of building a
8 strategic stock pile, the industry has really
9 worked hard to keep itself working.

10 Thank you.

11 COMMISSIONER BOYD: Thank you, Phil.
12 While you are there, I want to go over your list.
13 Remove the federal oxygen mandate. I guess
14 California has been trying like crazy to do that
15 for some time. So, I don't know if there is
16 anything more we can do. So, we mutually agree
17 there.

18 Longhorn. I do know California through
19 the Attorney General's efforts and through even
20 letters from this organization, has supported the
21 expansion of the Longhorn pipeline --

22 DR. VERLEGER: All we did was complete
23 it.

24 COMMISSIONER BOYD: Yeah, if there is
25 anything else we can do other than go over there

1 with picks and shovels and whatever and help them
2 do it, I will be glad to talk --

3 DR. VERLEGER: We finally got it to El
4 Paso. Now the problem is get it across Arizona.
5 I know Bill Richardson wants to go across Arizona,
6 but there is a very genuine question about
7 pipeline expansion there.

8 COMMISSIONER BOYD: Anything we can
9 mutually do to accomplish that, I look forward to.

10 The one big issue about the policy of
11 the Energy Report and its chilling affect on
12 investment. I know WSPA paid your way here, and
13 WSPA that is their party line with us all the time
14 so to speak. At least you work for them and did
15 the data for them. I appreciate that remark. I
16 understand the remark.

17 The dilemma we have is sitting here as
18 policy people is -- and I just spent all day
19 yesterday with the National Petroleum Refiners
20 Association and gave them my standard speech and
21 explained the California situation much like you
22 did, etc. etc. I am reminded that we haven't had
23 a refinery -- we haven't had new refineries since
24 1969.

25 We have had a lot of creep, and I agree

1 with you of the ingeniousness of American know how
2 technology and the every accelerating pace of
3 everything that we do, but there hasn't been an
4 exhibit of or a desire to seemingly to expand
5 refining capacity to build new refineries in
6 California. At least we in government don't get
7 that signal.

8 I like you have been at this a long
9 time. I like you have angered executives in the
10 oil industry for different reasons obviously for
11 almost the same numbers of years. I was there
12 when we did CARB gasoline. I was there when the
13 oil companies told us don't worry about the fact
14 that we aren't expanding in California. It is a
15 world market now and we can get it here.

16 To me what we have seen the last couple
17 of years since '99 - 2000 is everything you laid
18 out there. We can't get it here. The demand
19 outstrips the supply. Oh Lord, I believe that I
20 agree with you on Detroit and SUV's and that and
21 the efficiency would be wonderful if we were the
22 Nation State of California we would have our own
23 fuel efficiency standards, and we would stretch
24 the supply, but the dilemma is as a policy person,
25 how do you send the signal to get some attention

1 paid to we've got to do something substantial
2 here.

3 Those policy reports said we really do
4 need efficiency in CAFE, we really do need to
5 streamline permitting better in California, we
6 really do need to address this marine
7 infrastructure and deal with the ports. We have
8 dealt with the ports in the last year or so at
9 nauseam over you can't close the door on these
10 folks.

11 We have tried and we are working on a
12 lot of these things, but you have seen our charts
13 and graphs. We still show that if you implemented
14 all the alternative fuels and reduced demand and
15 this that and the other, that we are confident,
16 the people in California, in a few short years
17 will continue to have a demand that far outstrips
18 supply unless we do some dramatically different
19 things.

20 I guess the 15 percent reduction was an
21 opening shot at 2 by 4 across the forehead or
22 something to get some dialogue going on what we
23 do. I guess the hydrogen highway is another new
24 thing that many people are working on, and I serve
25 on the governor's advisory group on that.

1 Yet, I am willing to say to the public,
2 it is a long long bridge to the hydrogen highway,
3 but yet it may happen some day because the very
4 industry we are talking about here is part of that
5 effort as well and sees the long range future.

6 I am not so sure if we didn't say, you
7 know, didn't throw out that dramatic reduce your
8 hard dependence by a certain date, that we would
9 see the investment climate change. A lot of us
10 just haven't seen it for years and years and
11 years.

12 I think a lot of us, and I certainly
13 agree with you, and we have had this discussion
14 before that some of us who have had more familiar
15 with China, I have been fortunate enough to go
16 there many times with the U.N. and what have you,
17 and I was there just last year on vacation, and
18 the place scared the daylights out of me in terms
19 of what it is turning into.

20 We have just never seen a signal, so we
21 had to send a signal. I look forward to the rest
22 of this workshop today to help us straighten that
23 out.

24 DR. VERLEGER: This language, by the
25 way, was mine, and you know --

1 COMMISSIONER BOYD: That was just a
2 cheap shot by me and my friends from WSPA in the
3 audience.

4 DR. VERLEGER: I deserve it, but you and
5 I go back. I was in the Carter administration
6 working on these energy policy issues, and I guess
7 I have not been fortunate enough to go and be in
8 China yet. I've been many times to Japan, but
9 I've been talking for the last year with the
10 Chinese people trying to figure out how they build
11 a strategic petroleum reserve, which they haven't
12 started on yet.

13 As I look across the energy industry in
14 total right now, I'm very concerned about the
15 absence of investment. We are seeing the absence
16 of investment in drilling for oil, and I think one
17 of the things for the President of TOTEL really
18 put his finger on it recently. He said, we are
19 going to give money back to our shareholders
20 unless we can go drill in OPEC countries.

21 The President of TOTEL, I think,
22 demonstrated kind of the risk of adverse nature
23 that has come about in the executives at least at
24 TOTEL and a couple of the other big companies.
25 They've grown up over the last 25 years. They

1 probably started in the business before you and I
2 did. They have seen the people who take risks
3 lose their jobs.

4 My question, the question I ask quite
5 frequently is where is Mike Bolen now, and
6 everybody says, who is Mike Bolen. He was the
7 last CEO of Arco. What has happened is the
8 companies, the surviving companies are the
9 companies that were more conservative in terms of
10 their investment strategy going forward. That is
11 a fact of life.

12 We have seen this in lots of other
13 industries where growth has slowed down. The oil
14 business is not Silicon Valley. It is not a
15 business where growth is 20 percent a year. It is
16 1 1/2 percent a year, and it would be less than
17 half a percent a year if it weren't for China and
18 India.

19 It is a conservative environment, and
20 that is why we are not seeing -- we see kind of
21 the slowness in investment. The reason I bring up
22 the CEC CARB policy is that just provides yet
23 another indication of hey, be careful, don't
24 invest, pay your money back to your shareholders.
25 It is worse in print because it guarantees there

1 is a popular debate right now, are we running out
2 of oil.

3 The fact is, we are not going to know
4 because we are not exploring for the oil. We are
5 not going to have the oil there, so you know, it
6 is almost an irrelevant question. Nobody is
7 putting the money out to find it.

8 COMMISSIONER BOYD: Thank you. Jacky,
9 any?

10 COMMISSIONER PFANNENSTIEL: No.

11 COMMISSIONER BOYD: Our next presenter
12 is Jeffrey Williams, Dr. Jeffrey Williams.
13 Welcome back, Jeffrey.

14 DR. WILLIAMS: Thank you. I have a very
15 different type of talk, but I would also like to
16 put all this big subject in perspective that these
17 are fairly universal topics that we are dealing
18 with. The issue is how much should the State
19 worry about them.

20 My own major form of transportation uses
21 a great deal of biologically renewable natural
22 energy by eating 20 pounds of hay a day, and I
23 don't think you all are aware of that, but you can
24 spend a lot more on hay than you can spend on
25 gasoline. In the last year, the price of hay has

1 gone up 40 percent, imported from Oregon because
2 of U.S. Government policies there in the Klamath
3 Basin.

4 These things happen --

5 COMMISSIONER BOYD: I had two daughters.
6 I know the price of hay.

7 DR. WILLIAMS: Well, we will leave it at
8 that.

9 I want to go from those big picture
10 issues, though, to some smaller ones in a sense of
11 studying it, a microcosm of the California
12 gasoline market and looking at the spacial
13 patterns in rack prices in Southern California.

14 In thinking about the issue of market
15 power, it occurred to me to look at the spacial
16 pricing in particular with the idea that if these
17 very clever profit oriented firms are able to keep
18 up the price of gasoline, they are surely clever
19 enough to figure out where they send gasoline and
20 affect the prices accordingly, so that we ought to
21 see market power expressed in spacial patterns.

22 This is certainly true in a number of
23 other industries. The tomato paste industry here
24 in California pays a blanket price to all
25 producers of tomatoes, absorbing the freight

1 charges, underpaying farmers that are close to
2 processing plants and so forth.

3 Those of you who are paying attention to
4 politics probably know that there is a pricing
5 differential between drugs in Canada and in the
6 United States that more exceeds transportation
7 costs.

8 All of these are being compared to a
9 competitive benchmark in some sense that prices by
10 space ought to represent known costs of
11 transportation and marketing and so forth. We
12 often make this comparison.

13 I have a further proposition that in an
14 industry like the gasoline and oil industry where
15 conditions are changing a lot, there ought to be
16 changing opportunities to exploit market power in
17 the spacial dimension.

18 So, with this in mind, I thought to look
19 at some of the spacial pricing in California.
20 Specifically, I want to look at the pipeline
21 system in Southern California, and OPIS-reported
22 rack prices at various terminals there in Southern
23 California.

24 Because of the way that OPIS reports
25 prices, which I will talk about more in a minute,

1 I have five locations to look at. I have picked
2 out five companies, all refineries and what prices
3 they do, and I specifically made them as anonymous
4 as I can in this analysis so as not to prejudice
5 you by the name. Indeed, I have jumbled them so
6 that I don't even remember who is who.

7 They have presidents in all of these
8 markets. Some of them are selling branding and
9 some unbranded, so we can look at that issue too.
10 I have concentrated on the years 2000 and 2002.
11 These are daily prices. This is quite a lot of
12 information. I haven't gone too much farther than
13 that because of the complexities of switching from
14 MTBE to ethanol, although I want to look
15 specifically at the pipeline break that Phil
16 Verleger was referring to in the summer of 2003
17 and how it affected prices in California.

18 Let me explain a little bit now about
19 what I mean by this pipeline system and the
20 markets I am looking at. I want you to appreciate
21 initially that you are seeing the strongest
22 display today of the presence of market power.

23 This beautiful diagram done in Adobe
24 Illustrator on a MAC, when translated into power
25 point on a PC loses all of its labels and all of

1 its tables. I am not saying anyone is
2 responsible, but it does seem to me that there has
3 been an exercise of market power here. You are to
4 infer something about the Southwest tier, and this
5 is LA, and then we have a terminal called Colton.
6 Also LA shifts to San Diego, Colton goes up to
7 Barstow, and then to Las Vegas. There is a
8 pumping station here from which we go to the
9 Imperial. I am going to look at this price
10 differential a lot. There is a pumping station
11 into Arizona to Phoenix, and there is the El Paso
12 to Tucson pipeline.

13 There are actually two pipelines here
14 going either directions and the breakage of one of
15 those in 2003 is relevant. These pipelines have
16 specific tariffs that don't change. My beautiful
17 table in the upper right-hand corner shows you the
18 Kinder Morgan tariffs, which are constant through
19 this period.

20 Let's just keep one number in mind. It
21 costs by the tariff 1.5 cents per gallon to ship
22 from the Watson gathering point in LA to Imperial.
23 So, we might imagine that there be a lot of price
24 differences between LA and Imperial of about 1.5
25 cents per gallon, maybe a little higher because

1 there are other costs.

2 There is a great difference from those
3 systematically, we might guess something about
4 market power. That is the idea of what I am going
5 to look at.

6 Let me first show you all the prices of
7 these five companies at the five locations. They
8 are not at every place. This is over the period
9 2000-2002. Could everybody see this diagram
10 fairly well. I find it striking how closely
11 parallel everything moves.

12 It is not at all obvious that there is a
13 great amount of market power being exercised in
14 this spacial sense, at least from these diagrams.
15 The lows are the lows, the highs are the highs
16 pretty much everywhere.

17 Unfortunately, I was inclined to look a
18 little more closely at these diagrams, and now I
19 get to see more confusing things.

20 Let's start by looking more closely at
21 Imperial. I've tried to make the graph show a
22 little more closely what is going on. You see a
23 lot of colors. We economists all have the view
24 that the same thing, this is gasoline, the same
25 commodity should sell for the same price at the

1 same location. So, how come all of these lines
2 aren't one over the other. That is strange isn't
3 it in some sense, or it suggests that we are not
4 quite understanding everything that is going on in
5 this market.

6 What I want now to investigate is how is
7 it possible that prices really aren't the same in
8 the same locations or the price differentials.

9 Here I have two companies, company "X"
10 and company "Y" among that same list, one selling
11 branded and one selling unbranded, and these are
12 the four different price differentials measured
13 from Los Angeles.

14 Let's look at the unbranded first. The
15 Colton Los Angeles one is fairly constant.
16 Imperial Los Angeles, that's the blue, is that 1.5
17 cents, not exactly, but you know, it is nothing
18 else either. Let's look at that pattern and try
19 to figure out that company, what amount of market
20 power was it exercising where and why. I don't
21 see any logical pattern to that that would say
22 that it exercises spacial market power.

23 I see that even more in the unbranded
24 company. What are their pricing differentials
25 about? Day to day they are changing. What is

1 changing about the demand conditions in the
2 various locations that would cause that amount of
3 price differentiation day to day? Something else
4 must be going on.

5 It is not even that the farthest one,
6 Imperial, is always the highest. Notice that
7 there are even some times when LA prices are below
8 the other locations. It doesn't fit. Most
9 important, it is not the same every day. That
10 doesn't fit with any model spacial prices.

11 What does it fit with? Here is just the
12 Imperial Los Angeles spacial, not 1.5 cents, but
13 very different by company, and here is one that
14 must not have been wanted to be selling gasoline
15 at Imperial - 10, the red one.

16 Some of you are probably saying, well,
17 this is due to the way OPIS is reporting prices,
18 and that might be true. So, let's explore that
19 idea a couple of ways.

20 One way is to look at rack minus prompt
21 in Los Angeles. What we mean by prompt, that's
22 for gasoline delivered at the Watson terminal to
23 go into the Kinder Morgan system, and that is what
24 has to go to all these other locations where as
25 the LA prices are around that location. So, we

1 could look at within LA market, you would sort of
2 expect gasoline in LA to sell for the same thing.
3 So, shouldn't the rack minus the prompt price be
4 pretty similar. It is not for a lot of companies,
5 and it is sometimes negative.

6 Some of those are with the seasonal
7 changeover and specs which occur at a different
8 time in the prompt market than in the rack market.
9 But this is much more variation here than would be
10 expected I believe.

11 Some of this is due to the very nature
12 of what we are calling the LA market. The colors
13 mean less than the shapes, and this is from a
14 couple of years ago, and so some of the companies
15 involved are different, but Watson is the Kinder
16 Morgan location that is sending off on the
17 pipelines. Next to the right most dot is a
18 pumping station that goes down to San Diego, and
19 then there is the Colton rack and terminal.

20 You see that Colton is really almost
21 part of LA and probably should have more pricing
22 similarities some of the eastern terminals in LA
23 than the western terminals, but OPIS defines LA as
24 all of the other terminals, not Colton.

25 The spacial patterns within LA prices,

1 then, are very complex. Sometimes a refinery is
2 shipping to other terminals along the route to the
3 Watson and other times away. I defy anyone to
4 figure out what would be the proper spacial
5 pricing pattern in this complex system.

6 Then we take some average prices of that
7 and call that the LA price. It is not surprising
8 to me it doesn't behave in a very sensible way as
9 if it was one location. It's not.

10 Here is some other puzzles. The rack
11 prices as listed by these two companies. What
12 digits to they end in? I thought I would ask that
13 question. Branded company "X" almost regardless
14 of the location likes to have its prices end in
15 .00 or .50 with very few exceptions.

16 How will that affect average
17 transportation costs? Branded company wise using
18 much more of the price range, but it too is mostly
19 using .50 and .00.

20 What model, if any, profit maximizing
21 company says that prices have to end in .00 or
22 .50? I don't know of any, and yet they have this
23 bureaucratic preference for these prices. Perhaps
24 it is because some of the rack prices are really
25 nominal prices that are then negotiated with

1 larger jobbers that will be picking up the
2 gasoline and so forth, but why start with .50 and
3 .00.

4 Something is very different here which
5 suggests that any inferences we draw about market
6 power from these particular prices has to be very
7 careful because there clearly is at least a
8 bureaucratic tendency to favor certain prices. I
9 don't know why but it is there.

10 Let's look at some other patterns of the
11 pricing of these two companies. We've asked this
12 question at each location. Shall we look at
13 Imperial just to be consistent here. What day of
14 the week has the low price offered by that
15 company? If you think prices are moving up and
16 down and they surely look like they were in all
17 those other figures, what day of the week should
18 be about 20 percent for each day, right?

19 We notice, at least at Imperial, that is
20 true of the other places, too, that branded
21 company "X" typically has its low price on a
22 Monday and then a Tuesday and not at the end of
23 the week.

24 Now, what is going on there? I think it
25 has a lot to do with the pipeline logistics where

1 the week actually starts on a Thursday. We are
2 looking at the end of the week on a Monday
3 actually or a Tuesday. Pipelines in the Kinder
4 Morgan -- this Kinder Morgan pipeline system
5 starts its day of the week on a Thursday with the
6 first deliveries at the other locations, not on
7 Monday. The nomination had to be in for a week
8 earlier, so this is actually a commitment a week
9 before its getting the gasoline there.

10 If you are a company, company "X" here
11 who already has the gasoline in Imperial, you've
12 got to sell it by Thursday or so when the next
13 shipment starts to come in or Kinder Morgan is
14 after you. I think that is when the low prices
15 occur. Some of this is definitely pipeline
16 logistics effect.

17 Look at branded company "Y" seems to do
18 this even more. I've also looked at the day in
19 which the price was changed. So, sometimes prices
20 will stay steady for a couple of days, and then be
21 changed. Which day of the week is that? This is
22 less strong than the previous diagram, but it
23 looks like more often the prices are changed
24 around the pipeline cycles key point of the
25 Thursday, but I am less certain of that. There is

1 at least the suggestion.

2 This pipeline cycle is quite important,
3 and I don't think we all appreciate enough of the
4 complexity it adds. As I was suggesting, there
5 has to be a nomination of the Kinder Morgan
6 system, and that freezes the week before. Some of
7 the other pipeline systems in the rest of the
8 country allow adjustments up to the day of
9 shipment, although at a cost. Not in this Kinder
10 Morgan system.

11 So, companies that want to sell in
12 Imperial are making I guess ten days or so ahead
13 of time of how much gasoline they need to have
14 there. It is not surprising to me that they get
15 that wrong. It sure doesn't look like they are
16 coordinating very much because a lot of them have
17 very different prices at Imperial at the same
18 time.

19 You ask why don't they trade their
20 inventories at Imperial, well, that doesn't seem
21 to be happening. They are looking at this at more
22 of a personal company level and that probably has
23 a lot to do with their branded contracts I would
24 guess. I don't know because I don't see the
25 quantities being sold.

1 I do know that this is a much more
2 complex spacial problem as arbitrage than we are
3 imaging because of other features of the pipeline
4 system. Once you have put it out say to Colton,
5 and you regret that you put it there as a company,
6 you can't send it to Imperial. There isn't a pump
7 back into the system.

8 There is a commitment to send it to
9 Colton. Certainly a commitment to send it to
10 Imperial because you can't pump it backwards. I
11 think that inventory management problem and that
12 spacial pricing pattern that should result is far
13 more complex than anything that we have ever ever
14 thought about. So, our ability to judge whether
15 there is market power in that system, is much more
16 difficult.

17 That isn't to say there isn't market
18 power, it is just to say we are not able to
19 discern it because we don't have the benchmark
20 against which to compare things.

21 The final step let me apply some of this
22 type of complexity to the situation in 2003 when
23 one of the Tucson/Phoenix pipelines broke. As I
24 understand it, that El Paso/Tucson one was sending
25 most diesel to Phoenix, while the gas line went

1 the other way or do I have it backwards? I have
2 it backwards. All right, it was one of those.

3 The pipeline from Tucson to Phoenix
4 broke on July 30 I believe, and within a week they
5 thought about reversing the existing
6 Phoenix/Tucson pipeline to go the other way which
7 helped relieve some of the problems.

8 Some of our same companies are dealing
9 in the Tucson, Phoenix, and El Paso markets.
10 These companies I have to call "X" and "Y" branded
11 and unbranded. Let's look at their prices.
12 Around the June 30 break, this is conventional
13 gasoline now, there is a big increase in the
14 differential between Phoenix and El Paso and
15 Tucson and El Paso as one might expect.

16 A little more surprising to us is that
17 Phoenix Imperial price differential. First of
18 all, why is Imperial having conventional gasoline,
19 you are not supposed to sell that in California,
20 right? Well, you can at the wholesale level, and
21 it is being trucked in to Arizona, so there some
22 rack prices for conventional. They stay pretty
23 constant, although they are moving some.

24 There is a similar story in diesel
25 prices. Yes, the two types of diesel are

1 different in California and Arizona, but that is
2 not the main story here. The Phoenix Los Angeles
3 spreads for these two companies seem to have moved
4 in early July and August, although the unbranded
5 company already had a big premium in Tucson and
6 Phoenix relative to other locations. I don't
7 quite know why, but that was what was happening.

8 I am not interested in this and what is
9 happening in Phoenix, it is what is happening in
10 California. Here is the situation where a major
11 disruption on the bordering state, you'd think it
12 would be an opportunity for the refineries in
13 California to change their spacial pricing
14 patterns within California.

15 Let's look at the pricing patterns of
16 these four locations within California. Here are
17 the same two companies and their various spreads
18 over this period within California. The branded
19 company "X" changes them a little bit, but over
20 this period they are pretty constant all through
21 this pipeline break.

22 Branded company "X" seems to have
23 changed its pricing quite a bit but not until
24 September. That might be a spec change that we
25 are picking up here. I don't see any major change

1 in the pricing pattern in this period, and this
2 was an opportunity I think we would agree for the
3 exercise of market power if it was there. At
4 best, it is very weak evidence of that.

5 I look finally at diesel, which we had
6 mentioned before in terms of California prices,
7 but here we have the same diesel rack prices at
8 these locations, and they are not reacting very
9 much to this pipeline disruption, but they sure
10 are wiggling a lot in and of themselves in a way
11 that I don't think we would have normally expected
12 to see.

13 Surely traders who are looking at these
14 prices every day understand they are wiggling all
15 the time, but I don't think economists understand
16 the enormous variation in these series and how it
17 makes difficult any inference about what is going
18 on.

19 I'm led to these conclusions. I am
20 sorry I did any Empirical work because it was a
21 lot clearer until I did it. I'm forced to
22 conclude that this spacial price differentials in
23 Southern California, wholesale gasoline markets
24 accord with none of the transportation tariffs
25 that are regularly posted. That very simple

1 competitive benchmark that we imagined clearly
2 doesn't fit the facts.

3 Neither does the observed behavior
4 accord with any simple version of market power
5 that I have ever seen proposed or would even
6 attempt to even try to imagine.

7 I think these systems are just much more
8 complicated than we appreciate, complications due
9 to the branding contracts which I haven't gone
10 into too much, but the minimum take, maximum takes
11 in a month that each one of those has means the
12 prices are much more than the typical spot price
13 that we usually imagine as economists.

14 I think we see some examples of
15 administrative preference here. Some of these are
16 large bureaucratically oriented companies that
17 like whole numbers I suppose. They probably like
18 very rigid quantities too. I am imagining, but I
19 am sure most of you will confirm that is what is
20 happening.

21 How that plays out in terms of the
22 pricing is something that I think makes it very
23 hard to judge whether there is market power.
24 There is something going on, but it doesn't fit
25 simple models, but it is not necessarily market

1 power.

2 These are all OPIS prices. How much
3 discounting is going on or price changes during
4 the day, quite a bit, though some of these
5 fluctuations are beyond any amount of discounting
6 that we might expect which would be half a cent or
7 a quarter of a cent per gallon.

8 I would imagine that much of this is due
9 to the geographic irreversibilities. Once you
10 send it to Colton, you can't get it back into LA
11 very easily, let alone if you had sent it to
12 Imperial and so forth. The logistical lags that
13 are at least ten days if not more here and the
14 constraints that the storage system at these
15 various racks put on is doing a lot to cause the
16 prices to move spatially a great deal.

17 The only way we would ever really know
18 whether that is happening and be able to confirm
19 some of these theories I've proposed now would be
20 to look at the quantity data at each location. We
21 are lucky to get the price data at these locations
22 only due to OPIS. I am sure most of you know OPIS
23 is a monopolist when it comes to -- or exercises
24 its market power when it is selling its price
25 information. I can't imagine how much it would be

1 to get the relevant quantity data.

2 To really understand this system, I
3 think we have to know the flows into each location
4 all the time. From that deduce whether anybody is
5 thinking about the price affects they have.

6 I come away from this exercise wishing
7 that the world was simpler because then simple
8 models of market power might apply.

9 Thank you.

10 COMMISSIONER BOYD: Thank you, Dr.
11 Williams. I find this fascinating. Frustrating,
12 but fascinating, and particularly when you inject
13 organizational behavior, human behavior. I think
14 you are right. I have been around a long time,
15 and I see how the behavior, the species has so
16 much to do with its little quirks and what have
17 you.

18 In any event, thank you very much. I
19 appreciate that. Commissioner Pfannenstiel, any
20 comments?

21 COMMISSIONER PFANNENSTIEL: Just a
22 comment that I also appreciate the complexity of
23 it. I think that your colors show that probably
24 about as well as anything could.

25 COMMISSIONER BOYD: Greg Haggquist.

1 MR. HAGGQUIST: Thank you. Commissioner
2 Boyd, Commissioner Pfannenstiel, I'd like to thank
3 you first of all for the invitation to come back
4 and you've seen part of this before, so I hope
5 like President Bush, the second time around the
6 content might be the same, but maybe the
7 presentation will be a little bit better. Let's
8 find out.

9 We've heard two views. It reminds me of
10 Rashomon, the great Japanese movie by Akira
11 Kurosawa, right where everyone sees the same event
12 from a different point of view and reports it
13 differently.

14 Dr. Verleger gave us the sky view of the
15 PADD V, market power analysis. Dr. Williams has
16 told us about the ground level view of market
17 power. In both cases, there is no indication of
18 market power. So, let's see if we can come into
19 the middle and find out if there is any contrary
20 indications.

21 How to play and shape the market, role
22 strategies, and the consumers as you well know at
23 the Energy Commission, are at the tip of the spear
24 and always complaining.

25 This presentation is kind of an amalgam

1 of things that we have done in the past, a study
2 we have done with Stillwater, Mr. Hackett out
3 there, and we've done with a EIA studying not only
4 California but New York and Connecticut. We need
5 to understand how operating traders and the supply
6 people and marketers and what they see in this
7 market. What do the blenders see, and what do the
8 potential sellers of cargo see, the off shore
9 suppliers.

10 Of course, WSPA says the market works,
11 so if it is not broke, don't fix it. The question
12 is, is it broke? Is this kind of a gathering, is
13 it a debate, or is it a dialogue? Hopefully a
14 dialogue with an element of debate.

15 The terminal operators see congestion,
16 and the consumers don't know what they see except
17 high prices.

18 We will go through these quickly because
19 there are a lot of slides and we will just run
20 through them and try to linger on the key points.

21 The market participants are the major
22 oil companies. The cargo pipeline traders, the
23 major oil company traders, and the traders have to
24 be recognized for their roles even within major
25 oil companies.

1 There are supply balancer type traders,
2 and there are traders who are sort of in-house
3 contract type traders who arbitrage both the
4 system and the international global market and get
5 rewarded accordingly.

6 We need to consider how price formations
7 occur in relation to pipeline scheduling, which
8 Dr. Williams has just given us a very good
9 statistical view of, but I will try to give a
10 little more of a dynamic element to it here.

11 We have to think about leveraging. When
12 we know that 25,000 barrels of 50,000 barrel
13 transaction on the pipeline are purchased on the
14 pipeline can lift a million barrels a day in
15 California at the retail level.

16 We know marine storage is important in
17 all this. Downstream terminal space is important.
18 The availability of foreign supply, and of course,
19 forward market liquidity all play an important
20 dynamic part in the price formation and the
21 elevation, relative elevation of California
22 prices, against the rest of our fellow Americans.

23 We will talk a little bit about
24 infrastructure, the flow through the
25 infrastructure, the arbitrage from outside the

1 infrastructure into the infrastructure, the
2 backwardation and how that impedes the flow and
3 blockage in access issues because business, like
4 athletics and professional sports, is a game of
5 blocking and tackling. There is not conspiracy
6 theories, there is nobody sitting in back rooms
7 figuring things out. We need to understand the
8 dynamics within these natural forces of
9 competition.

10 The marine storage, don't build it and
11 they will come. Yeah, we talked about that
12 before. There is a lot of pent up demand for
13 terminal space, we know that. We haven't been
14 able to break through that down there in the
15 harbors. The Energy Commission is working hard on
16 that. The harbor at Long Beach and LA harbor, of
17 course, the gateway to the islands of California,
18 and you can only carbob in here. We know that
19 into California -- no, that's not true. We can go
20 through California and in to Arizona and Nevada,
21 but we are talking mainly California taking
22 carbob.

23 We need to see tankage as something
24 other than a blemish on the environment. We know
25 we have to keep things moving. We don't want to

1 sit on inventory when prices are as high as they
2 are today. So, there is sort of a tacit just in
3 time inventory practice going on if not explicitly
4 certainly nobody wants to hold the hot potato of
5 \$53 a day to crude oil to inventory when it drops
6 off and if it drops off.

7 Foreign supply. There are all sorts of
8 problems in getting California carbob type
9 gasoline from anywhere else. We know that. We
10 don't need to go through all of these, we've been
11 there before.

12 The forward market liquidity. This is
13 one chart that doesn't really show us anything
14 except to trigger our understanding that outside
15 supplier sitting in Australia or the Caribbean or
16 Northeast Canada or in Korea are all looking at
17 the forward market a month away, not today's
18 market.

19 When we see, for example, today we are
20 at \$0.40 a gallon above NYMEX, aren't we for CARB
21 gasoline. CARB gasoline is \$0.20 a gallon above
22 the other bobs, the Arizona bob and the LVBOB, the
23 Las Vegas bob, so all the bob's are in contention
24 with CARBOB winning the fight by \$0.20 a gallon
25 against the others and all of them \$0.40 against

1 New York bob.

2 When we looked at this back in May, we
3 had sort of a meeting a few months ago and looked
4 at the spot to retail, this is kind of graph that
5 is less noisy than the other ones we looked at. I
6 think it is really a very very important one.

7 The red lines, of course, are the
8 California average retail price coming from the
9 EIA statistics. The green line is the spot price.
10 This is the price that's reported by OPIS every
11 day, and the blue line is, of course, the forward
12 market, the futures market Nymex.

13 The key here that we need to pay a lot
14 of attention to is how this price moves every day.
15 This is far more important in terms of analyzing
16 market power than the Jeffrey Williams graphs that
17 break it down into Imperial and Phoenix and all
18 that scheduling stuff.

19 It is also more important than what Mr.
20 Verleger showed us where those imports go into
21 Oregon, mostly into Oregon, outside of California
22 or flow through into Arizona and Nevada. So, we
23 need to look at what's really going on. This OPIS
24 pipeline price it gets transferred to the street,
25 and when the street stays up there, is this \$100

1 million, \$200 million, a \$1 billion, \$2 billion,
2 figure it out and you will be surprised how much
3 it really is.

4 Blending. It is important in other
5 markets, and not so much the West Coast because
6 you can't do it unless you are refiner. Alkaline,
7 blend stocks, chemical octanes, and all of these
8 issues are key to markets that are open access
9 markets, like New York Harbor and Singapore and so
10 forth.

11 These are things that have happened this
12 year. The MTBE ban in New York and Connecticut.
13 How it affects us largely is by the feed stocks
14 and the octane blending components. Our premium
15 gasoline right now is \$0.25 a gallon above regular
16 gasoline. \$0.25, there is no premium gasoline
17 around and it is going higher differentially. We
18 predicted this. We said this when we came here
19 last February this would happen because of the
20 squeeze on octane components.

21 Sulphur deregulation, sulphur reduction,
22 and strong chemical demand. The chemical demand
23 is pulling what ever small amounts of octane blend
24 stock might be available away from us. The world
25 economy, not only the U.S. economy, has kicked in,

1 China, we've heard that a few times. We often
2 overlook the inter-action between the chemical
3 industry and the gasoline industry in terms of the
4 octane components. High natural gas prices are
5 part of the whole picture, and China and India as
6 usual.

7 The key is the highlighted yellow part,
8 the very tight high octane components. This is
9 what we said back in February. We repeated it in
10 July, and here we are today with a \$0.25
11 differential for premium. With a \$0.40
12 differential between California and New York.

13 Go to the highlighted bottom. Freight
14 rates have doubled. I was working a VLCC the
15 other night from African into China and the
16 shipment, one shipment from West Africa to China,
17 which a few months ago was \$6 million a pop is now
18 \$9 million a pop. One voyage \$9 million to get to
19 China from Africa.

20 Security issues we know is part of the
21 shipping environment today. The shipping is
22 tight. There is not enough tonnage. The OPEC is
23 pumping as much oil as they can driving the
24 freight rates up, and then we have the added
25 security issues.

1 The key as far a security and California
2 gasoline prices happen when you have to delay your
3 discharge, and that pushes the price up in a tight
4 market even higher. As we can see, these OPIS
5 prices can go up five, ten cents a day and much
6 more from time to time. Freight rates have
7 doubled.

8 The last barrel our esteemed economist
9 will explain to us how the last barrel, the last
10 transaction in a commodity market sets the price
11 for the day, the last deal at the close of the
12 Nymex kind of defines that day's price. The last
13 barrel in California is often a blended barrel
14 with alkaloid, a feed stock. So, this is a
15 question.

16 How does this relate to market power?
17 Well, if there was a big blending center like you
18 have in New York Harbor or in Rotterdam or in
19 Singapore, and you had the hurly burly of a
20 blending operation, then the refineries would not
21 be the only place where blending could take place.
22 That level of market power would not be exercised.

23 We've got to look back in order to see
24 forward. The people in this room, many of us have
25 been through this looking back process through the

1 strategic reserve study, MTBE phase out, and so
2 forth. Most of what we have predicted has
3 happened.

4 I'll say one thing, that traders get a
5 bad wrap sometime, but traders can't be wrong,
6 traders have to be right or else they don't
7 survive. What they say has to happen or they
8 don't have a job. They know what they are talking
9 about more they are given credit for quite often.

10 Scheduling the short squeeze. Jeffrey
11 Williams has pointed to this, and we could get
12 into that with great detail maybe this afternoon.
13 What really happens on those pipeline movements
14 out to Imperial and down to San Diego.

15 Ship, pipe, and street, right? How does
16 the ship relate to the pipe, how does the pipe
17 relate to the street, and ship, tank, lungs, and
18 pipeline. Lungs come into play because you can't
19 build new tanks because of the NIMBY resistance at
20 local level because people are going to get
21 diseases from the ozone.

22 California versus other U.S. markets.
23 We know there is more volatility. This is nothing
24 new. Higher prices, less competition. Less
25 competition, less liquidity and more resistant to

1 change.

2 Every one of these can be challenged.

3 It is the economists job to challenge these
4 generalizations. It is the traders job to know
5 they are absolutely right or he doesn't have a
6 job. He has to right about them.

7 California, how much of an island? It
8 is more than three weeks by sea because it takes
9 time to prepare cargo to come here. Three weeks
10 is the best case sailing time. We are isolated by
11 specification, highlighted today by the difference
12 in the bobs, you know the \$0.20 between CARBOB and
13 the other bobs.

14 We are constrained by infrastructure, we
15 know that. We are paralyzed by politics by some
16 degree. The Energy Commission has done everything
17 humanly possible to break through that, and we
18 have made some progress.

19 What does it cost? This is a very busy
20 one. We won't look at this very closely, but
21 except to say that the blue box is the California
22 CARBOB gasoline flies above everything else. If I
23 were to leave this up long enough or you look at
24 it on the internet, you would be able to see how
25 these events depicted created a price movement

1 that are also depicted.

2 When we were here in February, we
3 started this kind of work looking at the
4 consequences of having to import the last barrel
5 not so much as a CARBOB all the time, but often as
6 alkylate, a reformat, a blending stock that has
7 to go through. If it is not market power, what is
8 it? It has to go through a refiner/blender.

9 We predicted mobile volatility. We
10 predicted more expensive imports, irrespective of
11 the crude oil escalation. We predicted higher
12 prices relative to back East, \$0.40. We predicted
13 more scheduling difficulties. We heard that
14 everywhere, and what has happened since is another
15 busy chart here shows you what had happened
16 through May, the last time we got together.

17 Don't try to squint through this
18 particular chart. You can look at it on the
19 internet later. They post these. You will see
20 that every little event in California causes price
21 reaction. We've got them all over the place.

22 Here is a quiet little chart. All we
23 are showing here in June, a couple of months ago,
24 is that the crack spread looks pretty healthy, the
25 unleaded clear and the WTI price. Don't forget,

1 there's WTI price. This is the Nymex crude, most
2 of the refiners here run ANS, which today is like
3 \$4.50 a barrel discount off of this. We can
4 explain why that is in this afternoon's meeting if
5 anyone is interested. So, this is the quiet part
6 of the market.

7 The spot to the street is the key as I
8 said. To get in between what Dr. Verleger has
9 presented and what Dr. Williams has presented, we
10 have to go to this spot, the street, pass through.
11 The pass through has not happened as quickly on
12 the downside. Price sticking has cost billions to
13 consumers. There is nothing wrong with that, the
14 way that it is put there in that particular -- it
15 sounds as though there is something insidious
16 about that, but there isn't. This is just a fact
17 in today's market. They have had their bad times
18 like other businesses have.

19 Tax collectors are doing well because of
20 the structure of the gasoline taxes in California.
21 Higher prices bring more revenues into the state.

22 We looked at one particular price spike
23 a couple of months ago that did not occur because
24 of any identifiable event. It was when the price
25 jumped up to \$1.71 a gallon in the spot market.

1 The forward market jumped \$1.61 at the time. It
2 was like \$0.20 or \$.30 a gallon increase. It had
3 to do with scheduling and reshuffling of things,
4 and this is the kind of thing you should really
5 talk about in a shirt sleeve workshop like this is
6 supposed to be.

7 How does this happen? How do you jump
8 \$0.20 or \$0.30 when there is no event? When that
9 gets passed through the street as we showed
10 earlier, and the street stays up there, and you
11 add that up, you are in a billion dollars pretty
12 quickly. We can't afford a billion dollars in
13 California. Of course, it is the consumers that
14 are paying.

15 However, looked at that back in May,
16 things have changed. The picture has changed in
17 the last few months. The same chart now shows a
18 little healthier picture. That is the spot price,
19 OPIS, is going up and retail is now lagging a bit
20 like it used to do in the old days. Now whether
21 that is because of politics and all of the noise
22 in the press that oil companies are making too
23 much money, therefore, if you are making huge
24 margins at the production side and good margins at
25 the refining side, maybe you don't have to perform

1 so well at retail. I don't think that is really
2 the case. I was just throwing it out there.

3 We are catching up, as you can see, and
4 it is going to go back up and stay up when the
5 spot market drops down.

6 Here is another one that the economists
7 can pick apart, but it is the very simple that the
8 U.S. average distribution of independent retail
9 versus the California distribution of independent
10 versus integrated retail is totally reversed.

11 This is workshop-type stuff. These
12 charts lead to discussions, so the philosopher,
13 Michael Poloni called these things approximatable
14 clues to a distill meaning, so we have to go back
15 and look at that kind of a flow chart as an
16 approximate clue.

17 What is the distill meaning? The
18 distill meaning is how a price is formed through
19 that flow. What happens when an event occurs or
20 does not occur that causes the price to jump up in
21 California? Let's call it a refinery disruption,
22 for example, because that is the most famous kind
23 of event. It could be a batch going off test, a
24 scheduling disruption like we saw back in May.

25 The refiner or the company that short

1 priced to borrow, all schedules are full, there is
2 no exchange barrels, the next option is the spot
3 pipeline. You have to go out and buy 25,000 or
4 50,000 barrels. That is the next thing that
5 happens. If you do that, and the market is a
6 little bit tight and it is headed upward a little
7 bit, we demand from whoever it is, the pipeline
8 scheduler, the trader who is short, the disruption
9 causes the -- drives up the spot price, the new
10 price is quoted by OPIS every day. OPIS price is
11 transferred to the unbranded rack.

12 The unbranded rack. You know we are
13 always saying integrated companies cause these
14 problems. The words spreads quickly. The
15 independent jobbers pass the new price to their
16 commercial accounts. The independents raise the
17 street price, and branded retail moves up in
18 sympathy.

19 So, it is not so much big bad integrated
20 Exxon Mobile or BP doing all this stuff, they are
21 going for where the market is leading them, often
22 being led by the independent side. So, the tail
23 does in fact wag the dog in California. The
24 independent sector because it must. This can
25 become a debate, but I am putting that out there.

1 Finally, you can't borrow on the
2 pipeline anymore, prices are run up to high. It
3 has finally become attractive to come in from East
4 Coast, Canada, so you put your ship on the water,
5 but you find that supplies are tight out there,
6 shipping is expensive, the market is in
7 backwardation, the cargo finally sail on the
8 confirmation of sustained high price, not just
9 because we have a little needle of a price spike.
10 It has to stay up there a while before these come
11 in, and so we pay at the pump.

12 Here is another busy one that when it
13 gets on the internet, look at this, because what
14 you will find these little pyramids down here or
15 inventories when cargos upon cargos arrive -- when
16 you study this particular chart closely and it can
17 be repeated through any number of time periods,
18 you will discover that the cargos are put on the
19 water after the price spike has happened, and they
20 arrive after the price spike has subsided if they
21 get here too late.

22 Scheduling is a big part of price
23 formation in California in tight markets. If you
24 are short, if you owe me gasoline, and I owe him
25 gasoline, and I have to go on the market and buy

1 it, you've got to come up with it. If you don't
2 come up with it, you've got a problem. You are
3 not going to be in this business anymore. So, you
4 have to go into the market and get it or I can't
5 supply him.

6 There is a buyer's option. I've sold
7 you gasoline. You've sold me gasoline for
8 delivery this month. I call you up I want it.
9 You are having trouble, you went short, you didn't
10 cover your position. So, you have to go out and
11 buy from someone over there, but since it is a
12 buyer's option, you need to give it to me now. As
13 Jeffrey Williams point out, Thursday every week is
14 drop dead day. Tuesday day is freeze day.

15 DR. WILLIAMS: Thursday is usually the
16 bad day.

17 MR. HAGGQUIST: The bad day. So, when
18 you have to go into the market, you have to go
19 into the market. When you do, you drive up if it
20 is a little bit tenuous, you are going to have a
21 price spike in front of you. Things get worse
22 when supplies are tight obviously.

23 This is just a little matrix of how a
24 pipeline schedule might work. What Jeffrey
25 Williams was pointing out was how these prices

1 play out at the various outlying terminals. What
2 a scheduler is looking at is something like this,
3 July, August, September, his long positions, his
4 short positions. If you are down here in a short
5 market, many times you want to be short. You saw
6 the BP on Phil Verleger's chart is structurally
7 short. They are always short, they want to be
8 short. Chevron is structurally long, right? That
9 is something we can talk about this afternoon too.

10 That has market power significance. The
11 cost to the consumer is high. This might be
12 inaccurate, but at least it is directionally
13 accurate.

14 Market power, the independent view, this
15 was Dr. Borenstein's study that I did read a few
16 months ago, and I thought it was pretty good as
17 far as it went. Market power is related to
18 infrastructure. This is the quotes from his
19 paper. At wholesale level, market power is
20 related to higher prices in California. The
21 underlying causes are complex and political.

22 However, I agree with him, the market
23 power exists. I don't agree with the other two
24 documents that a market power does not exist.

25 More quotes from economists. If the

1 refiners in the market are nearing their refining
2 capacity constraints and the marginal costs of
3 producing more gasoline is high, then prices must
4 rise significantly. That is what Dr. Borenstein,
5 he is right about that. These quotes are accurate
6 ones.

7 To the extent that the inability to
8 interconnect with the rest of the distribution
9 system constitutes a barrier to entry the ability
10 of some firms with a strategic interest in
11 preventing entry to do so is a potential concern
12 going forward. In other words, market power.

13 Problem solutions, lessons from other
14 markets, gate keeping and leveraging, accessing
15 competition, government and private markets. Now,
16 Hawaii you have heard about before. We have done
17 studies in Hawaii. Hawaii is a small island,
18 California is a bigger island. The issues are
19 very similar in both cases. Access to refiners
20 only, local manufacturers is a problem in every
21 island.

22 The island continent of Australia I am
23 working on that right now, and I've worked on it
24 in the past. That one is totally upside down that
25 has integrated major companies versus independence

1 and hyper markets.

2 Seven years ago, Australia -- the
3 independent sector was screaming because of too
4 much control by the majors. Independent terminals
5 were built, flow started to go into Hawaii. The
6 opposite happened, Exxon Mobile shut down a
7 refinery, and the majors started crying to the
8 government.

9 The key is the flow into the market as
10 Dr. Verleger points out, you have to look in terms
11 of coming in from the outside. This particular
12 Hawaii study, this is when the independent
13 terminal opened, and this is when prices started
14 to become more related to what we call import
15 parody.

16 So, what we are really searching for in
17 California is import parody. Hawaii has put on
18 price caps. We are not condoning that, we are
19 against price caps, but I started thinking of
20 price caps as "implied permission" because
21 everyone whom we interviewed in Hawaii, and we
22 interviewed everybody in the market, did say that
23 once price caps were enforced, everybody would go
24 to the caps. They would become floors.

25 We did a little bit of checking. This

1 is one market where we found a price cap in Nova
2 Scotia -- where was this, St. Johns. The price
3 cap does become the actual price. So, what do we
4 care in California. We don't have price caps. I
5 say, yes, we do. We have OPIS. It is permission,
6 implied permission to go there. That is the
7 number you can go to.

8 Without full import terminal access,
9 pipeline trade is restricted in California.
10 Pipeline trade defines the OPIS spot price. This
11 is something I want you guys to tear apart because
12 I hope I am wrong about this. Without full import
13 terminal access, pipeline trade is restricted.

14 Pipeline trade defines OPIS spot price,
15 okay? I hope I am wrong. OPIS spot defines the
16 unbranded rack. The unbranded rack sets the
17 retail price throughout the state, and the spot
18 rise is highly susceptible to -- that is not a
19 good word, but -- is Watson in a choke point, or
20 isn't it?

21 We know Watson is important because Dr.
22 Williams showed us that is the beginning of the
23 distribution system. It is restricted if access
24 is restricted. It is a choke point if the spot
25 market is driven by the pipeline transactions. It

1 is a choke point if leveraging is systemically
2 embedded. I don't know if it is, but let's talk
3 about this, this afternoon.

4 It is a choke point if seller's option
5 enables the short squeeze. Oh, I've got that
6 backwards, buyer's option. Sorry about that.

7 The leveraging is a question of using a
8 nickel to make a million. Purchase a spot
9 pipeline at 25,000 barrel, the street goes up a
10 million barrels a day because that happen or
11 doesn't it happen. We are here to ask questions.

12 Who is the ref, the public, the
13 congressman, the AG's office, who is the ref? Do
14 we need a ref? So, the price spike components,
15 the short covering on the pipeline raises the OPIS
16 price. OPIS becomes the unbranded rack. The rack
17 is transferred to retail, wholesale squeeze
18 subsidizes with delayed imports. Imports come
19 later. Retail price lingers for billions. We
20 need a ref. If it broken, fix it. Maybe it is,
21 maybe it isn't. That is what we are here to talk
22 about.

23 So summary, the retail gas price is
24 driven higher by spot shortages. Projects are
25 delayed for years. Uni Cal patent is a problem.

1 We all know that is a problem. That is another
2 issue all together, but related. We expect more
3 problems during the driving seasons ahead. We are
4 right now in a non-driving season and we are
5 having a price spike. We are going into high
6 vapor pressure season, and we should be going down
7 in price traditionally speaking.

8 We stood here last February and said
9 this would happen, and it is happening. These
10 solutions I reserve the right to withdraw them. I
11 didn't pull out the slide fast enough. This is
12 early stuff.

13 We know we need to have someone to
14 overcome the Nimby resistant to infrastructure
15 projects at the local level because the good of
16 the entire state.

17 Here is one I think is really important.
18 I call it measuring how deep the moat is. When
19 CARB comes up with new specs, we are not just
20 talking about how much it costs to refine and
21 produce that barrel, we are talking about how deep
22 of a moat and how wide of a moat we are building
23 around California by virtue of limiting other
24 supply points.

25 Energy affiliate rules. Should we

1 examine these, is there a problem with embedded
2 traders inside major integrated companies, or is
3 there not a problem. If I am a trader and sitting
4 inside Exxon Mobile, I am a global trader and I go
5 out and buy the pipe -- if I do that as an
6 independent trader, there is no problem. I don't
7 affect anything downstream. I have no secondary
8 advantage as a corporation or as a company.

9 I went through that very fast. Thank
10 you for your time, and we will raise the questions
11 this afternoon.

12 COMMISSIONER BOYD: Thank you. You did
13 raise a lot of questions for this afternoon, and
14 I'll save them for that time.

15 We have one last speaker this morning
16 before we break for lunch. Tim Hamilton. We will
17 let everybody fuel up at lunch and come back for
18 what looks like a very spirited panel discussion
19 hopefully.

20 MR. HAMILTON: My name is Tim Hamilton.
21 I am a petroleum industry consultant who works
22 with consumer groups and small business trade
23 associations including the Automotive Trade
24 Organization in California.

25 I have been in the petroleum business

1 since 1974, and I am going to try show in somewhat
2 simplistic fashion how a very complicated industry
3 works at not the economic level or the review
4 level, but at the service station level, the way
5 it actually functions.

6 I started in the business in 1974, and I
7 was in the first gas line, and I've been there
8 ever since. It has gotten much difference as time
9 went on.

10 Everybody knows we get our gasoline
11 through the Western United States, and the
12 gasoline comes in, the crude comes in, we build it
13 in refineries, and we ship it like a pipeline. It
14 is an irrigation system like a farm, that is all
15 it is. Strategically down the pipeline is truck
16 loading terminals and they take off and they
17 supply the gasoline stations.

18 What happens with the gasoline is that
19 as it is in the terminal, it is loaded into a
20 truck. We've gone to basically fungible generic
21 gasoline. The components of the gasoline are
22 blended and they are stored by many companies in
23 the same common Kinder Morgan storage tanks as an
24 example.

25 This is a very general review. There is

1 always wrinkles and differences, but I will try to
2 stay as factually accurate, but remember general.
3 So, when the truck pulls up, it takes out its card
4 and swipes it just like you do at a card reader.
5 That tells the computer it is Arco gasoline or
6 Chevron gasoline, or whatever.

7 They draw that fuel out of there, charge
8 their account, and at the last minute like paint
9 going into a paint to make it color, in goes the
10 Chevron additive or in goes the Arco additive, and
11 there is one fellow from BP says, we have our
12 witch doctor do a dance on the top of the truck,
13 and that makes it BP gas, and it takes off and it
14 heads out.

15 We hit branded service stations, and I
16 also have the problem with being on a Mackintosh
17 and as Brian helped me, we lost our unbranded
18 station which was over in the left hand corner
19 which I wanted to have there unfortunately.

20 Anyway, then we go out and we price our
21 gasoline. The typical wholesale classes of trade
22 that we deal with in a business today don't
23 resemble what we hear here today. To the guy that
24 runs the service station and delivers the
25 gasoline, the world that we are hearing today is

1 something that he doesn't even understand or see.
2 He doesn't understand it because that is not what
3 he visions.

4 What we see today when you go supply a
5 gasoline station is that you have wholesalers that
6 are refiners with their direct delivery systems
7 where they deliver the gas to the station and
8 control the sale.

9 We have refiner brand jobber distributor
10 who in certain geographical regions, they assign
11 that responsibility on to them and they are an
12 independent middle man so to speak, and they line
13 up the service station account.

14 We have a jobber who is an unbranded
15 jobber who moves from one refiner to another or
16 under contract to get the fuel generically and
17 sell it to commercial accounts in unbranded
18 stations.

19 Then we have the import trader. The
20 importer trader and refiner basically is what
21 supplies the distributors and the direct
22 deliverer. Now I don't know what the number is,
23 but probably 99.99 percent of the identities that
24 buy and sell gasoline in the State of California
25 don't trade it on the futures, don't hedge, don't

1 buy, don't import. They go to the rack or they
2 get delivered directly.

3 One of the differences in this part of
4 the country in California versus the rest of the
5 west and the rest of the nation is that we are
6 prominently in the State of California DTW direct
7 delivered by refiners, the service stations are.

8 This causes problems, problems in
9 analysis especially. If you go and pull OPIS and
10 it is a controversy with the CEC's posting, if you
11 go pull OPIS or the spot price and the news media
12 and Liz over here runs the story about how
13 wholesale costs went down, the local service
14 station dealer's wholesale cost could have gone up
15 that same day. He doesn't see the spot, he sees
16 the DTW, or he sees the branded rack.

17 Retail outlets basically are branded
18 under refiner trademark, they are a private label
19 by chain retailers, they are small operators at
20 one or two stores are totally unbranded, and then
21 you have the hyper markets such as Costco,
22 Safeway, and so on.

23 When you get into the branded station
24 that you see, why they will all look the same as
25 you drive by, those branded stations can be broken

1 into two categories when the refiner owns the real
2 estate or controls the real estate and when they
3 don't.

4 The refiners will salary or company
5 operate stations or they directly control them
6 with salaried staff, set the price and so on.
7 They will use a fee or a commissioned agent who
8 may run the convenience store for them and get
9 paid a commission, but the refiner still controls
10 the retail price.

11 They will use a lessee dealer where they
12 will lease it to a franchise dealer who is an
13 independent business man technically free to set
14 his own retail price, but indirectly, which I will
15 show you later, greatly controlled by the refiner
16 as well.

17 Then you have the contractor open
18 dealer, that is the guy that owns his own facility
19 and is under a direct supplied contract with the
20 oil company exclusively in a non-negotiated
21 contract. He has to buy all of his product from
22 them for a certain period of years.

23 Then you go to the geographical area
24 where they have dropped the direct delivery and
25 they do the branded jobber and similarly the same

1 thing occurs.

2 The branded contracts can grant refiners
3 significant control. In addition to their company
4 operated retail outlet or fee operated where they
5 directly set the retail price, the contracts today
6 that the retailers sign have a non-negotiable
7 wholesale price set at the sole discretion of the
8 refiner. They directly or indirectly control the
9 retail price in that manner. Arbitrary
10 geographical boundary lines are set up where if
11 you are in jobber territory, as an example, a
12 Chevron dealer in San Diego can only buy gasoline
13 from Chevron direct and not from a Chevron jobber
14 because they won't let them compete between them.

15 They limit competition, these branded
16 contracts do, from other refiners with real estate
17 supply options up to ten years in length. In
18 other words, as an example, one of the contracts
19 on my desk today from Company A is a gentleman
20 will brand his station with this company. They
21 will give him a three year branded supply
22 contract. In return, he must pay \$150,000 to make
23 the station look like their company likes it to
24 look. He has to give them a ten year right of
25 first refusal on the real estate. He can't sell

1 it, he can't leave it, he can't put a sign in the
2 window without their permission. He can't process
3 a bank card, he can't sell a product without their
4 review.

5 In essence, while he is technically an
6 independent merchant, these contracts nearly have
7 gotten to the point where if you are in the
8 gasoline business with a branded contract, you are
9 nearly salaried manager because the controls that
10 are indirect are so great.

11 The differences in pump prices that we
12 see in the dispute between geographical areas -- I
13 started back in 1988 was the first spike with the
14 federal trade commission and a congressman named
15 Bates out of San Diego. They took the OPIS rack
16 prices, the FTC did, and compared the rack prices
17 for wholesalers between Los Angeles and San Diego
18 and saw that they were within a penny of each
19 other. That was the only price they had, so they
20 assumed that the \$0.20 higher price so to speak
21 was retailer margins and demanded an investigation
22 into gouging by the retailers.

23 We had to go in and show them that the
24 retailers were paying actually more than a
25 differential and a higher wholesale price. The

1 difference was the wholesale DTW being charged by
2 the companies, which were ten times higher than a
3 freight differential on the pipeline down in San
4 Diego.

5 The wholesale prices can vary from
6 truckloading terminal to truckloading terminal,
7 from California to the rest of the country, and
8 inside a truck loading terminal such as Colton --
9 I am using Colton because we keep using that as an
10 example. Exxon Mobile had a station that was
11 operated by a friend of mine in the shadows of
12 Colton. He could see the truck load almost, and
13 he paid \$0.15 a gallon more for Mobile gasoline
14 than the Mobile dealer delivered from the same
15 terminal 20 miles away.

16 I've documented these examples as high
17 as Lone Pine to Modesto, Arco AM/PM to Arco AM/PM
18 at 46.2 difference in wholesale price, same gas,
19 same truck, same day.

20 A lot of times the wholesale prices are
21 the result or the cause are directly tied to the
22 differences in one geographical area for the
23 other.

24 Sometimes that can be class of trade
25 differences, and sometimes it can be zone pricing

1 as I have just described.

2 Accusations of collusion or price
3 fixing. I have been involved since 1980 with
4 these, and to my knowledge there has never been
5 since the MDL-150 cases any documented evidences
6 of collusion or price fixing as people think of it
7 that they cross the white line under anti-trust
8 laws.

9 The consumer goes to work and drives by
10 a station, sees all the stations in his
11 neighborhood at \$2.05, comes back that night and
12 sees them at \$2.10. He thinks it is obvious price
13 collusion has gotten underway.

14 There are two types of collusion, tacit
15 and direct. The industry talks every day with
16 those complicated charts that you saw. We talk
17 clearly and precisely. The best way I can tell
18 you is this, you've got a shell station, I've got
19 a Chevron station. I go to work by 8:00 in the
20 morning and I look up at \$2.05 and I see you take
21 out the ladder and go to \$2.10. I sit there and
22 see that, and I know your cost doesn't change.

23 So, I watch it, and at noon I go out and
24 I go from \$2.05 to \$2.07. At 1:00, you come out
25 and come back down to \$2.07. Now, you told me you

1 wanted to go up, and I said okay, not \$0.05
2 because they will buy where they work instead of
3 buy at home.

4 We had the clearest most precise
5 discussion that we could ever have, but we did not
6 meet in the middle of the road. So, we didn't
7 breach anti-trust laws.

8 These wholesaling changes that you see
9 at rack and one of the things I want to encourage
10 the CEC about is I've worked with your staff on
11 some of the new reporting situations that you are
12 in, and data gathering. I sit on the EG's task
13 force. The lack of knowing data for the
14 economists and analysts to review is very
15 important because your prices are not directly
16 tied because the tail is wagging the dog when it
17 comes to this spot thing.

18 Exporting gasoline, shorting the market
19 place, closing down refineries, keeping tight
20 supplies, in the old days, you had the oil
21 companies keep adequate inventories. Storage is
22 one thing, keeping flow is another. Often we see
23 people count storage. They don't ever bother to
24 go look to see the tank is only a quarter full.

25 If you take and close your inventories

1 down in the old days and did not have adequate
2 inventories on hand to supply your stations and
3 you had a refinery problem or a burp, you would
4 run out of gas, and your competitors would eat
5 your lunch.

6 Then we went to fungible generic fuels
7 and we stored them all in the same tank. Then all
8 of the sudden something happened. Traders came
9 along. Never heard of that before. Spot market,
10 what was that? We took and started selling paper,
11 and you need to go look at how the paper market in
12 barrels which has nothing to do with getting a car
13 up and down a road is used as a strategic reserve.
14 They sell the gasoline off and that allows them
15 the ability to go get it and bring it back. It
16 allows the whole industry as an old agopoly to go
17 down to the bottom of their tanks.

18 When you look at the market power --
19 I'll quote them, an old agopoly, a classic old
20 agopoly, what they said in Hawaii. When you get
21 there you understand the lack of competition and
22 high prices. It is not the market power of an
23 individual. It is the market power of an old
24 agopoly that benefits jointly together by the rise
25 in price.

1 Exporting, limiting production,
2 controlling the imports, purchasing the avails.
3 When you have a short market, and I am going to go
4 back to the class of trades, you have a branded
5 company out here today that is insured it is going
6 to sell its gasoline through the branded stations
7 it's got. It can't go anywhere. You've got the
8 private labels which we don't have enough of or
9 very few of anymore. Arco occupied that nitch in
10 the '80's and we all lost. Where do you go if you
11 are an importer to sell gasoline in the State of
12 California.

13 If you see that high price and you come
14 running over here with your gas, who are you going
15 to sell it to. Well, what happens is they will
16 lower that unbranded rack price when your cargo
17 comes in to those unbranded distributors. Down
18 goes the spot. Now you get burnt and you don't
19 bring it back unless they buy it and bring it
20 themselves.

21 There is two types of imported gas, the
22 ones that is imported by refiners with control and
23 one that is outside the refiners control. Because
24 outside the refiners control it goes out into the
25 system instead of getting absorbed in theirs.

1 Today when you want to see the spot
2 market jump, you know what happens? One of the
3 refiners goes out and starts to buy the paper
4 back. This happened in California. Look to
5 Chevron MBP. When they try to go and buy that
6 paper back, what happens then is that Costco's and
7 the unbranded rack are tied to the spot by
8 negotiations and by implied agreements that seem
9 to exist in the pricing system.

10 So, Chevron and BP can go out
11 hypothetically today, buy gasoline on the spot, up
12 goes the spot, up goes the cost to the unbranded
13 stations and the hyper marketers, and they have
14 forced up, and then here comes the stations.

15 The gentleman mentioned the independents
16 are driving the price. Hold it, the independent
17 rack is what we refer to is driving the price.
18 What party took the actions or inactions that
19 caused that to jump? It is the human behavior.
20 When you have these stations and your own company
21 ops and you can control the retail at all your
22 branded stations, and you can get the prices to
23 manipulate like this, the refinery margins are
24 there.

25 I was involved in an awful lot of

1 controversy over Bakersfield. I was one of them
2 that was involved in sitting down with the
3 insiders releasing the public documents. When you
4 listen to people like me or you look at these
5 charts, ignore it. Go get the documents, go see
6 what I have seen, you will understand. The way
7 you make the money in California is to short the
8 customers needs. If you drop the ball real bad,
9 you will make even more. They are all locked
10 together by this system. I don't know whether you
11 want to call it control for one company or control
12 for an old agopoly, but it is control.

13 I don't know whether you want to call it
14 management for profit or manipulation of
15 inventories, the eye of the beholder. I
16 appreciate being here. I hope that I can be of
17 help to you.

18 COMMISSIONER BOYD: Thank you very much.
19 All right, we have reached the end of the morning
20 session. We will break for lunch for one hour,
21 and welcome everybody back in a panel format to
22 discuss that which we heard this morning and the
23 differences of opinions and perhaps address some
24 if not all of the questions that this staff has
25 put to our panel members.

1 I thank everybody for this morning, and
2 see you in one hour.

3 (Whereupon, at 12:35 p.m., the workshop
4 was adjourned, to reconvene at 1:35
5 p.m., this same day.)

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1 AFTERNOON SESSION

2 1:48 p.m.

3 COMMISSIONER BOYD: I'd like to thank
4 the members of the panel sitting up here for a
5 very stimulating morning. I can't say that I feel
6 any better about anything as a result thereof or
7 any less confused.

8 COMMISSIONER PFANNENSTIEL: Is this on?

9 COMMISSIONER BOYD: It's on. You can't
10 hear me? You have a green light, and you have
11 nothing. I can be really loud, but I don't know
12 about the rest of the folks. Is your system going
13 to work?

14 COURT REPORTER: It is recording. Your
15 system is not amplifying.

16 COMMISSIONER BOYD: All right. I'm going
17 to take a shot at it.

18 UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: We've got Bill
19 Taylor on the way. He should be here in a moment.

20 COMMISSIONER BOYD: Unless these people
21 want dinner here tonight, I am going to move this
22 along.

23 As I was saying, and maybe it is just
24 good acoustics in the room, I keep thinking I hear
25 myself feedback. Thank you to everybody this

1 morning for a stimulating discussion. I am not
2 sure I feel any better about anything or
3 understand anything a lot better, we turned over a
4 few rocks.

5 What I would like to do first is go back
6 through the agenda or the order of the presenters
7 this morning in this sitting around the table in
8 this round table format and let everybody comment
9 first on what they heard, and then we will come
10 back to address the questions and any other free-
11 flowing items that anyone wants to bring up.

12 If we would just in the same order of
13 testimony this morning, I will call on folks and
14 give them an opportunity to respond to what they
15 heard with respect to what other folks said and
16 any additional ideas they may have.

17 With that, that means Severin, you are
18 first.

19 DR. BORENSTEIN: Thank you. I hate to
20 do this, but I think I have to respond to what I
21 think were personal attacks from Phil Verleger to
22 the point of being rather unprofessional.

23 I think it really -- I've been attacked
24 many times when people disagree with my economics,
25 but I have not previously been called

1 disingenuous. It's been suggested that I had some
2 bias when I think it is pretty clear that we are
3 not working for any side, but let me make a couple
4 of comments that I think respond to the substance,
5 which I think frankly is misguided.

6 Let me just say this clearly. There is
7 no dispute and I suspect Phil would not dispute
8 that there is scarcity in this market, and that
9 some of the price increases are due to scarcity.

10 At the same time, there is no dispute
11 and the numbers that were put up by Phil Verleger
12 among others make it clear that the short run
13 elasticity for demand is very small.

14 The simple economics done right suggest
15 that those two factors combined mean that any firm
16 that has a significant market share where 20
17 percent is certainly a significant market share,
18 and we can disagree and I would dispute very
19 strongly that market share is the right number
20 rather than capacity, is going to have an
21 incentive to restrict output in order to raise
22 profits.

23 Now, whether they are actually doing
24 that or not is a very complex analysis, and I have
25 made it quite clear, one that we haven't done.

1 To simply dispute out of hand or to
2 dismiss out of hand that these firms have an
3 incentive to exercise market power I think is
4 clearly at odds with the basic economics of this
5 market. Unfortunately, although the conclusion
6 was presented that firms with the market shares
7 that were presented by Phil couldn't have an
8 incentive to exercise market power, that is simply
9 at odds with the basic economic analysis that one
10 has.

11 That said, we make quite clear in our
12 paper that we do not have the data and frankly are
13 skeptical that one could do an analysis to
14 separate the market power from the scarcity
15 effects, but I am reminded of 1988 in the
16 electricity industry, and this is one of the cases
17 where the analogy is at when a number of the
18 senior statesmen in the industry said, oh, don't
19 worry about market power, that is under control.
20 That is really not the right lens to view this
21 industry in.

22 I think the failure to recognize the
23 potential for market power makes it clear or ran
24 us down a road to a very bad outcome. I think we
25 really need to be aware of the incentives.

1 In the end, Phil's presentation appealed
2 to basically non-economic behavior by the firms.
3 That even though they were very smart guys down
4 low in the firm optimizing production perfectly in
5 order to increase output, they were not very smart
6 guys up high in the firm optimizing output in
7 order to maximize profits.

8 You know, my view is that they are all
9 really smart guys, and that failing to recognize
10 that we do at our own peril.

11 I think that is all I have to say for
12 now.

13 COMMISSIONER BOYD: Phil, it just so
14 happens that you are next on the list.

15 DR. VERLEGER: I was extremely
16 disappointed with the paper because Severin has
17 done some very good work in the past on for
18 instance gasoline pass through.

19 He and Justine Hastings did a paper that
20 I thought was less than exciting on gasoline
21 marketing because essentially it was an
22 examination of Arco's acquisition of, I think, not
23 Tower, but another company in Southern California
24 that ignored five years of very dramatic
25 industrial change that came subsequently in

1 particularly the hyper markets.

2 In part, my trouble with this paper is
3 the fact that Severin is drawing electricity
4 analogies, and in the case of electricity, we have
5 an industry that is five years old maybe --

6 MR. BORENSTEIN: I made it quite clear
7 in my presentation that --

8 DR. VERLEGER: -- but -- excuse me --

9 MR. BORENSTEIN: First of all, you
10 factually made --

11 DR. VERLEGER: Now just --

12 MR. BORENSTEIN: -- the mistake that I
13 didn't co-author the article with Justine
14 Hastings. I mean, so you should sort of try to
15 get basic facts right.

16 DR. VERLEGER: Justine, when we
17 testified before Senator Levin, you weren't there,
18 said you were a co-author, so.

19 MR. BORENSTEIN: I will check that, but
20 I find that inconceivable.

21 DR. VERLEGER: The oil industry has been
22 around 30, dealing with these things for 30 or 40
23 years versus five years for electricity.
24 Electricity people made some serious mistakes.

25 The trading in oil dates back, you can

1 date it back I suppose (indiscernible) would date
2 it back to 1920, but certainly I have been
3 worrying about it and seeing active trading since
4 1980. I was on the committee, I had just left
5 Yale, that offered the first futures market
6 contract in crude.

7 One of the problems one has is that
8 wrong ideas and bad economic analysis have
9 dominated our energy policy. It took us ten years
10 to get out of price controls, and I was part of
11 the removal of price controls, and some very good
12 economists like Fred Conn really resisted us, and
13 we had some problems.

14 I found the conjecture in this to be
15 very troubling, in particular, I work the point up
16 of people working in the companies. If you go
17 back and you read the trial record of MDL-150,
18 something I know about because my father was
19 Exxon's attorney, and it is the only anti-trust
20 lawsuit where Exxon prevailed and companies went
21 it went to trial prevailed. The procedure, the
22 interest in long run profit maximization and the
23 behaviors of these companies has been such,
24 although they are attacked and they have been
25 attacked for thirty years for doing these things,

1 are the evidence just hasn't been introduced or
2 been found.

3 Because, in fact, it hasn't happened at
4 least in the United States to the proof -- you go
5 through -- the only place it came close was in the
6 FTC's midwestern gasoline investigation where they
7 had to use their subpoena rights, where they went
8 through and talked to the companies, and they
9 found one company that cut sales, and there was
10 some question as to why they did that.

11 This was unilateral action. Severin is
12 quite right on scarcity and low price elasticities
13 could lead to this. In fact, given the fact --
14 for one thing, the down side to these companies
15 for taking one of the actions that he has
16 described if it gets disclosed are just enormous.

17 Enormous not just in California, but
18 across the board. If you want to pick an analogy
19 that's totally different, look at the mutual fund
20 business where the kick backs came back and it has
21 closed a couple of mutual funds.

22 Adverse publicity is a huge
23 disincentive. Companies have worked very hard to
24 keep supply there. The suggestion that at the top
25 they would take this. It is a difference. The

1 electricity generation I've seen from reading
2 depositions and so on was like a bunch of cowboys.

3 I think Severin is absolutely right and
4 the Borenstein papers on market power and
5 electricity or Paul Joscow's papers were good. It
6 is very different, and the trouble is that once
7 you get one of these ideas out, they become self
8 serving and they just get picked up and get
9 carried on and carried on.

10 My concern is getting investment as is
11 yours. What I have seen is you look around the
12 world and you see people say well, that is
13 becoming a place where just investing and trading
14 is not a place I want to be. I think that
15 academic, one, the sentences I presume they would
16 rewrite so there weren't so many double negatives
17 makes it -- it comes very close to the kinds of
18 things we saw in the 50's on the anti-communism
19 side. I just was extremely --

20 MR. BORENSTEIN: Oh God. Jesus, Phil,
21 let's keep it under control here.

22 DR. VERLEGER: I don't think it's --
23 Severin, you haven't been fighting these battles.

24 MR. BORENSTEIN: Come on. Would you
25 just read the top sentence there, and I apologize

1 for writing above a fourth grade level, Phil, but
2 I think you can still understand it.

3 DR. VERLEGER: Severin, most of your
4 papers -- never mind.

5 MR. COVI: This might be a good time to
6 get Drew Laughlin on the line.

7 COMMISSIONER BOYD: Can you get Drew
8 Laughlin on the line?

9 MR. COVI: Can we Bill?

10 COMMISSIONER BOYD: Everybody can count
11 to ten while we bring in an outsider to listen,
12 and then Jeffrey in the rotation of things, you
13 are next.

14 MR. COVI: Drew, hi, this Brian. We are
15 on the PA system here at the workshop. Why don't
16 you just give like a very very brief introduction,
17 and I would advise the audience. Drew was
18 originally invited to be a presenter because of
19 his expertise on the pipelines. He wasn't able to
20 join us today, but he is able to participate in
21 this panel discussion from Houston over the
22 telephone. Go ahead, Drew.

23 MR. LAUGHLIN: Brian, thanks for having
24 me joining in. I am sorry I was not able to get
25 out there for the week, and I was able to assist

1 Greg Haggquist at least over the last few months
2 in our presentations. We met out there, and I
3 believe Gregg has made the presentation this
4 morning on pretty much what we have been
5 presenting over the last six months, which is the
6 changes we see and the problems we see in the
7 California infrastructure which I think Gregg has
8 probably gone over this morning, although I wasn't
9 able to listen in.

10 The main points that I have always
11 stressed with the CEC is still the utilization of
12 very limited import infrastructure assets,
13 especially docks and limited tanks is still a
14 problem. It isn't getting any better as we have
15 been discussing this all year, permitting is not
16 getting any faster, the system isn't opening up.

17 We still have major constrictions on the
18 system, and we are still lacking new players and
19 new supply. My basic schitck is still that it is
20 a strategic supply that California lacks. The
21 ability just to store strategic gasoline, and this
22 just isn't the volume of gasoline. This is a
23 quantity of a high quality product such as
24 alkylate. You have continuous problems out there
25 with quantity and quality problems.

1 For instance, California or excuse me
2 Arizona's problem last year was a quality issue.
3 You couldn't change quickly to an Arizona quality
4 because refiners were making as much California
5 material as the market required and couldn't move
6 quickly because there wasn't enough strategic
7 product out there like alkylate or something that
8 could change CARB even into an AZBOB or a Nevada
9 type spec if necessary.

10 That continues to be the main problem
11 and the inability of outside players, whether it
12 is refiners from the Gulf Coast that aren't
13 participants out there or traders, importers,
14 blenders still have problems getting into the
15 California market.

16 That is basically what I would have said
17 if I was there this morning with Gregg.

18 COMMISSIONER BOYD: Thank you, Drew,
19 this is Jim Boyd. Good to have you on the line.
20 What we are doing right now is going around the
21 table of this morning's speakers to just let them
22 reflect on what the other speakers said, and you
23 are right, Greg did give us a lengthy presentation
24 in world record time, and we are going to need to
25 revisit it a little bit to totally absorb it, so I

1 am glad you could join us now.

2 We just had a little in the order of
3 presentations, Severin gave us his report. Phil
4 Verleger his, and Jeffrey Williams, and Gregg, and
5 Tim Hamilton. We are just going down that list.
6 We just got passed Severin and Phil barely when we
7 got you on the phone. So, if you want to listen
8 in, we will finish the rotation, and then we will
9 open it up to the whole panel to a more broad
10 discussion of the questions, including the
11 questions that were put to all the panelists and
12 any other issues that any of us might bring up.

13 So, thank you for joining us and hang in
14 there.

15 MR. LAUGHLIN: Okay, I'll be here all
16 day.

17 COMMISSIONER BOYD: All right, Dr.
18 Williams, it was your turn in rotation.

19 DR. WILLIAMS: I'd like to make a
20 broader point that hasn't really been said except
21 perhaps indirectly when we were talking about long
22 run futures prices.

23 We focused on California, but this is a
24 world petroleum market, and there is market power
25 in that industry. Everybody recognizes it. OPEC

1 is an unusual force here. So, all of our analysis
2 of what goes on in California presupposes some
3 effective OPEC, and that makes it very hard to
4 figure out what's the effective OPEC versus the
5 effect of more local conditions.

6 I'll use that in one example using the
7 current futures prices. I think it really does
8 matter, and I agree with those that have said this
9 already, that the long run futures price is now
10 gone up a lot compared to its historical average.
11 That is telling us something.

12 We are also in a condition and have been
13 for over a year or two of extreme backwardation.
14 Let's reflect on what that is a market signal
15 about. It says, don't hold inventories. If you
16 look at heating oil, if you look at gasoline,
17 repeatedly the market signal is to don't hold
18 inventories, so a discussion at California context
19 of why we see so few inventories, well, that is
20 what we should be seeing. If we don't think about
21 that broader picture, I think we end up having
22 some misperceptions of what is going on in
23 California.

24 COMMISSIONER BOYD: Jeffrey, would you
25 do me a favor for those in the audience who don't

1 live with this on a daily basis, and I am thinking
2 particularly of members of the press. Define
3 backwardation.

4 DR. WILLIAMS: In the grain markets, it
5 is called an inverse carrying charge. So, that
6 doesn't help either, right? Every market has its
7 own language. It is simple is a statement that if
8 you are trying to buy gasoline or wheat right now,
9 it costs more if it is delivered immediately than
10 if you get it six months from now.

11 The backwardation, that term is a
12 British term from the 17th Century by the way
13 comes from having a tightness now, which could be
14 from natural causes, there is a small crop makes a
15 backwardation in wheat, but it can also be the
16 effective market power.

17 It could be that as time progresses, the
18 price goes up even more and everybody who said
19 gee, the price will fall is wrong, but it is a
20 market prediction that the price is likely to go
21 down that conditions are more flexible in the
22 future. That is a market signal to hold fewer
23 inventories. You can buy something later, why
24 hold it. That is a very important signal.

25 COMMISSIONER BOYD: Thank you. I

1 thought that was important to have it defined
2 because there is a lot of discussion about
3 inventories or the ability to hold inventories or
4 why we don't have inventories, and some people may
5 think it is because people aren't building it or
6 they are purposefully withholding it from the
7 market, but it is more tied to the operation of
8 the market in total, and you helped explain that.

9 DR. WILLIAMS: Yes.

10 COMMISSIONER BOYD: I interrupted you.

11 DR. WILLIAMS: I was going to make one
12 more point that comes a bit from OPEC, but it's
13 just the nature of these markets. They are highly
14 variable. Prices go up and down a lot. That is
15 the important thing to recognize because of the
16 way we then have some methodology about that.

17 It is likely whatever the commodity, if
18 you think about the various grades and the various
19 locations and the various times, some price will
20 be odd as measured in some objective way because
21 things are staying stable. That means we are very
22 likely to end up with an anecdote that says gee,
23 this odd price here, I don't understand this.
24 Something is very funny.

25 I bet we could interview a lot of wheat

1 farmers are really puzzled why their local grain
2 elevator at harvest time had such a low price.
3 Well, maybe it didn't the year before or something
4 like that.

5 So, I am really nervous about an
6 anecdote as a way of saying what the average is
7 because I think those anecdotes much more often
8 find the extremes and the extremes are a natural
9 part of this industry anyway. They are puzzling,
10 they are interesting, but they don't represent the
11 average condition.

12 COMMISSIONER BOYD: Thank you. Gregg,
13 you were next.

14 MR. HAGGQUIST: Thank you. Just a
15 couple of things I reread the sentence that
16 Severin (inaudible).

17 COURT REPORTER: I'm sorry.

18 MR. HAGGQUIST: Can you hear me? Did
19 you hear me?

20 COURT REPORTER: No.

21 MR. HAGGQUIST: I was saying -- no, no,
22 it has nothing to do about you. In the art of
23 writing, if it has anything to do with you, it is
24 not the art of writing. It has to cut the
25 umbilical cord and has to stay out there in the

1 world of writing, and the sentence stands as a
2 good sentence in the sense that it does slow the
3 reader down and cause the reader to think, you
4 know, and it is an strategm. If you write
5 sentences according to your grammar check on the
6 computer, you will write vanilla ice cream at all
7 times and no one will ever have a second thought
8 of anything you ever said.

9 Secondly, I think there is quite a
10 significant behavioral parallel between
11 electricity markets and gasoline. When I ran the
12 last company I ran, we were for years petroleum
13 traders. We entered into the electricity trading
14 world because we thought it was going to be a big
15 market, and we thought we could do well at it.

16 I went to Electricity 101 seminar in
17 Houston knowing nothing about electricity. I
18 remember meeting these smart electrical engineer
19 capable people at cocktail parties and I would
20 give them the business card and they say, what is
21 this company. I would say we are oil traders, and
22 they would say you are coming into electricity,
23 won't that be a long learning curve. I said no,
24 sir, you have a long learning curve.

25 That is what happened, the traders knew

1 what would happen in the electricity industry, so
2 it is a behavioral question. I believe what
3 Severin Borenstein is pointing out is that a
4 condition exists so that certain behaviors can
5 take place and be harmful to the general good, not
6 by any deliberate scheming, but by incentives and
7 really good trading. We will talk about that as
8 the day goes on.

9 The other thing I wanted to point out
10 was that I had not had the good luck of meeting
11 Tim Hamilton before, but I thought your
12 presentation was very very good, and I think that
13 the second half of what I was saying, and I said
14 too much, but if I just cut it in half and just
15 delivered the last half of it, and you were to
16 dovetail that with what you were saying, I do
17 believe that -- and what Jeffrey Williams points
18 out, all these questions can be explored in a
19 concrete way to everybody's benefit.

20 Thank you.

21 COMMISSIONER BOYD: Thank you. Tim, I
22 believe it is Hamilton is next.

23 MR. HAMILTON: First off, I want to say
24 that was the most interesting round of dueling
25 economists I have seen in a while. After serving

1 with both of these guys, I always laugh because
2 with all respect to both of them, I remember
3 telling Phil when he came in, I said I remember
4 when his Wall Street Journal he used to refer to
5 me I would go from raving lunatic to clairvoyant
6 genius.

7 I remember when he had raving lunatic by
8 predicting oil would go to \$50 a barrel and guess
9 what, it did.

10 I don't deal in a world of data. I deal
11 in a world of business. I have a high school
12 diploma from what one refiner tried to assert in
13 court was from a secondary school. I have only
14 been self-employed since I was 12, started five
15 businesses and employed hundreds of people and
16 never been on a government payroll in my life nor
17 a corporate one.

18 I don't do the talk, I do the walk. I
19 deal with people who do just that. They sometimes
20 as I said, don't recognize talk. It all comes
21 together when you recognize how this marketplace
22 works. (Indiscernible.) You short the market,
23 your prices go up. Severin, if there is a
24 shortfall in the market. Now you could argue
25 because environmental rules and regulations or you

1 could mark it as because they shipped it to
2 Australia in May of this year, March of this year
3 for \$0.50 a gallon, and the market place shorted
4 there.

5 There is no California citizen entitled
6 to a single drop of gasoline or diesel at any
7 price by law, unless it takes it to Act 4. The
8 public thinks of it as a utility, and we are
9 allocating these resources by price. That is the
10 whole system. They play it like a tune. You raise
11 the price, slow the consumption down to meet the
12 available barrels. It is not as complicated as
13 you think. They count the trucks, they go to
14 Imperial Valley, they say how many trucks came out
15 today, 110. How much fuel went in? 100. Raise
16 the price. They allocate the fuel by what they
17 have available.

18 We have infrastructure problems. We
19 have a lack of supply being available for us with
20 our own refineries, possibly more going down with
21 Bakersfield. It doesn't take an action of an
22 individual, it takes an inaction.

23 Example. In the old days, I'd go down
24 and I might get some Chinese gas. It would come
25 around through the imported unbranded marketers

1 and in through Wickland or whatever. We had
2 refiners unfairly using, but as an example,
3 BP/Amaco/Arco.

4 The mergers. Did it affect, I don't
5 quite buy Phil's argument about the refineries in
6 my state where I come from, but let's talk about
7 the mergers. Conflicts of interest that weren't
8 recognized by anti-trust law, fights with the
9 Federal Trade Commission that I went through. What
10 we found in the mid-west, which I was criticized
11 for, was I first published a report that said that
12 it withheld product.

13 In the mid-west run up, I was one of the
14 first to come out with a report for consumer group
15 that said it could have been avoided, they
16 withheld product. That was later subsequently
17 confirmed.

18 If you have a shortfall of product in
19 the west in the old days and you got the arbitrage
20 up and it was over the cost of transportation, the
21 fuel would come around, it would come into ports,
22 it could be sold through marketing system of
23 unbranded stations and all this type of stuff, and
24 down would come the price.

25 Now, who would do that? In those days,

1 we had say Amaco refineries that didn't do
2 business out here. They might bring the fuel
3 around. We had Singapore refineries with BP or
4 over in China. It would come over.

5 Then you put together BP/Amaco/Arco.
6 Now, the BP refinery manager is not going to bring
7 in fuel and undermine the Arco refinery margins of
8 \$0.70 a barrel or \$0.70 a gallon that we had here.

9 Massive conflicts of interest with the
10 economic analysis of the people at the Federal
11 Trade Commission refused to admit, refused to
12 recognize from everything I could tell after hours
13 of discussion and communications with them.

14 When we had the 1996 run up, in 1997
15 there was a price investigation. There wasn't a
16 price investigation, but a price spike, and I
17 published what was called a parade of ships. All
18 the ships took off, the tanker Kenneth Derr named
19 after the CEO of Chevron loaded with a
20 conventional fuel left San Diego Harbor. I was a
21 source of Orange County recently too, and the fuel
22 prices went spiking up because that gasoline took
23 off and left.

24 It is not against the law, and it was
25 probably a good business decision, and they all

1 did it. So, if the cure is more infrastructure
2 and the cure is more refineries, but to put those
3 infrastructures in and make those investments, we
4 are going to turn to the oil companies who do
5 business here today, and those investments would
6 cause the profits to go down, not up. You could
7 wave every environmental law known to mankind, in
8 my years of experience in the business says I am
9 not going to take money out of my pocket and
10 invest it because my profits will go down. I
11 don't care.

12 You know, when it comes to bad press, I
13 don't think the oil companies have been too
14 reluctant to take that share in hell if you give
15 me \$3 billion more a year out of California, you'd
16 call me names. I'll take all the heat you want.

17 The economic reality of what we have
18 today is that it is not in the industry's best
19 interest to adequately fulfill our needs because
20 it would cause profits to fall. What you do about
21 it is going to be an interesting question because
22 I am going to get on a plane and fly out of here.

23 COMMISSIONER BOYD: Have you got any
24 suggestions before you leave?

25 MR. HAMILTON: Yeah, I've got a lot of

1 them. One of them is you need to go down and look
2 at the tail that wags the dog. Phil talked
3 about -- I worked with Justine Hastings for a long
4 time, and one of the things that we learned on the
5 AG task force was that thrifty -- you have to
6 understand all the time I was actively in the
7 gasoline business, I was a branded franchisee, and
8 my enemy was the cut rate chain retailer who kept
9 cutting the price down the road from me.

10 I have spent since 1985 trying to
11 explain to people that if you do not watch and
12 control the retail marketing and you let the
13 majors control it, and you limit those people, you
14 are going to lose big time. And we did.

15 Atlantic Richfield -- the perigees here
16 or the impressions in people's minds, the best
17 non-data analysis or non-scientific approach is
18 that Arco is always the cheapest price in town.
19 Another way of saying it is it is the worst place
20 you can buy a gallon of gas in any state of union
21 that Atlantic Richfield does business in. It is
22 the most highest price.

23 The cheapest is the most expensive.
24 Understand that the control of the stations with
25 Thrifty was a willing customer for Nesty. They

1 testified they would bring fuel around here if
2 they could sell it, but they can't bring it around
3 if all the stations are tied up on exclusive
4 contracts. They don't have anybody to sell it to
5 because then they move those class trade prices
6 and you lose your (indiscernible).

7 Count the barrels. Go out and count the
8 wet barrels. No matter what you do, the key is
9 the wet barrels. Not the paper, not the trader,
10 unless the trader is bringing you wet barrels. I
11 don't know how you are going to get those supplies
12 here and as far as the strategic reserve is
13 concerned, I seem to disagree with everybody over
14 that because if I had my way, I'd go out and put
15 an excess profit tax. I'd not let them have that
16 \$0.70 gallon. I would build me the biggest
17 storage tanks you ever saw, and I'd fill it up
18 with gas.

19 The minute those sons of a guns started
20 to fail to meet the needs of the consumer, I would
21 turn that crap loose. It would flood those
22 unbranded racks, and you could not drive the
23 unbranded independent price up to bring the majors
24 up with it. I know that all the good economists
25 will argue that is counter productive and

1 everything, but I am going to tell you something,
2 if I knew I was going to manipulate the market
3 place and it was going to cause my profits to go
4 down, I would stop manipulating it.

5 That is just the way I would do it, and
6 to each his own. I guess what I am saying is, you
7 are not going to be able to be very friendly to
8 those who are profiting by the shortfall of
9 product. You will not be successful.

10 COMMISSIONER BOYD: Thank you.
11 Interestingly enough, during the morning session,
12 I wrote down phrases that were used multiple
13 times, and tail wagging the dog won the contest
14 for most references that I wanted to see that
15 there is additional discussion on this afternoon.

16 I think perhaps it has started, so I
17 guess as we now begin the true round table, I'd
18 like to understand that better. I guess the other
19 thing I want to say is I have a lot of respect for
20 Severin and Phil as economists. I've studied and
21 read their materials for quite some time. I must
22 confess I have read Phil's longer only because
23 when I was over at the ARB for 20 years, you know,
24 he was writing stuff that he paid more attention
25 to. Severin hadn't come on the scene for me just

1 yet.

2 When I got thrown into the electricity
3 world, I caught up real fast. I have immense
4 respect for both of them, and a little frankly
5 surprised by the exchange, and maybe we can put
6 that behind us. When I read and reread Severin's
7 report, while Severin left some rocks to be turned
8 over, I must confess and maybe I read it wrong,
9 Severin, but I walked away from our mutual
10 testimony in the legislature and from my reading
11 saying, well, yeah, it is really hard to find that
12 there is any criminal market power going on there
13 and it makes you wonder where you should put your
14 emphasis in doing things next.

15 Phil, maybe you were defending against
16 something that really wasn't there as much. I am
17 not quite sure. In any event, let's move on with
18 the afternoon's discussion and have a little more
19 free ranging discussion of A) the questions we put
20 out there, and if you didn't like those, why
21 branch off into anything else that might interest
22 you.

23 I would like Commissioner Pfannenstiel
24 if she has any points she would like to see
25 touched upon or emphasized or has any questions

1 before I just throw the microphone open. I am not
2 throwing any raw meat out there either.

3 COMMISSIONER PFANNENSTIEL: As a matter
4 of fact, there are two points that I heard this
5 morning that I would like to have -- I think they
6 will both get addressed some how this afternoon.
7 In fact, we heard it clarified early this
8 afternoon, that according to Severin, there seems
9 to be an incentive at least for market power, and
10 yet on the other hand there seems to be a
11 disincentive to actually use that market power.

12 In the discussion this morning, it
13 seemed like people were saying that there really
14 isn't any way of testing that. There really isn't
15 any way of analytically demonstrating whether in
16 fact market power has been used. I would sort of
17 like to be developed a little bit because if that
18 is the case we may then need to frame things
19 differently.

20 A second area that I felt was
21 interesting is that we heard from I think all of
22 the morning speakers talked about various short
23 term events, sometimes actual strategies,
24 sometimes just exogenous events that would drive
25 prices up.

1 I kept listening for comparable that
2 might be sending prices the other way, and in fact
3 what we hear and I guess it is pretty logical is
4 that prices are pretty sticky going down. It is
5 harder to get them down once they have gotten up
6 there.

7 What we have talked about in terms of
8 increasing the infrastructure, the long term
9 fundamental industry response, but are there
10 shorter term events we should be looking for or
11 precipitating that might help in the other
12 direction.

13 COMMISSIONER BOYD: A couple of other
14 quick comments. Phil, historically when you and I
15 have been in the same forum, you have been pretty
16 tough on OPEC and have spoken at length about the
17 market power they exert. I didn't hear much of
18 that today, and you may or may not want to say
19 something more when you get the microphone.

20 DR. VERLEGER: Do we have all day?

21 COMMISSIONER BOYD: Another issue that I
22 think is very relevant is kind of the general
23 question, will they make the investment, i.e. in
24 infrastructure. You've heard my bias that goes
25 all the way back to the mid '90's when I was

1 wearing a different hat, that I'd have to really
2 be convinced, and I still remain unconvinced that
3 back in the days when we really didn't have much
4 of a chilling message coming out of California,
5 other than we wanted cleaner burning gasoline and
6 it cost a little bit more, until the 2 by 4 was
7 applied last year.

8 I don't think government was sending
9 messages that there were disincentives in this
10 state to making investment, but yet we never saw
11 it being made. I can be convinced otherwise.
12 I've always felt that I was fairly open to
13 everything. I am still open to pipelines and
14 strategic fuels reserves if the world changes to
15 the point that there are good things to do. At
16 the time we looked at it, we didn't think so.

17 We had an electricity crisis. The
18 American people, Californians, have been really
19 respond well to emergencies. We haven't quite
20 declared an emergency in the gasoline arena,
21 although I don't know perhaps why not, except
22 politically it is not very tasteful.

23 Government can respond and help people
24 make investment, i.e. facilitate the environment
25 for capital improvements, as was done with

1 building power plants. If we really ever truly
2 felt and anybody said there was an emergency, we
3 need to build more refineries in this state, but
4 it has never been said. It has always been said
5 to me that it is a world market, don't worry about
6 it.

7 Lastly, we in government who think we
8 serve the people, and yes I have been on the
9 government dole most of my life, feel like we work
10 for the people and try to represent them. One of
11 the problems we have is the optics of situations,
12 and in spite of strongly held feelings that most
13 people are good people, the people (a) see the
14 price of gasoline real high, (b) people try to
15 tell them it is supply and demand and it is
16 scarce, and (c) they read all the time that the
17 oil companies are making record profits.

18 Now I know from studying the profits
19 aren't always that good, and there are lots of
20 lean years and lots of good years, but we live in
21 a world of optics see gee, the oil companies are
22 making unconscionable profits right now and we are
23 paying through the nose for our gasoline.
24 Something is wrong.

25 That is why we have lots of discussions

1 and legislatures have lots of hearings.

2 The last thing I will say about why we
3 keep persisting in addressing this subject,
4 turning over rocks, and I'm not convinced that
5 there is anything there, but in our responsibility
6 to the people of this state is you've always got
7 to peak around the corner in my mind at the dark
8 side.

9 I don't think that was done, but I
10 didn't help design the electrical system. I don't
11 want to fault those people, but something sure as
12 heck was wrong in this state, and I think they
13 forgot to lock some people up in a room and say,
14 okay, go to the dark side and figure out how you
15 can beat this system, and then we will design into
16 the final structure mechanisms to avoid that.

17 I think in this area, we keep looking,
18 and there is a general public perception that
19 there is a real dark side. The reason we are
20 holding workshops like this is to see if there
21 really is or isn't, and have people convince of
22 one or the other.

23 I remain prejudiced or biased to the
24 point that we are going to pay hell trying to ever
25 satisfy the California public's demand for

1 conventional gasoline, and thus, you hear me talk
2 about CAFE standards and alternative fuels more
3 and more. I also buy into the idea that we need
4 to absolutely optimize, maximize our ability to
5 deliver conventional fuel for a long long time
6 while we transition to something else. That is
7 kind of where I approach the situation today after
8 sitting through lots of these sessions, but we
9 have all afternoon to continue the discussion. I
10 am quite hoping to changing my point of view on
11 some of these things.

12 With that, I'd like to just have anybody
13 grab the mike and say anything they might want to.
14 If nothing else, people address the questions that
15 the poor staff spent a lot of time thinking were
16 important to this forum. Severin.

17 MR. BORENSTEIN: It is a long list, and
18 I am going to try to run through them fairly
19 quickly.

20 Commissioner Pfannenstiel asked what
21 would send the prices down. Actually, the prices
22 were down for 30 years. Refinery margins were
23 extremely low, and the industry basically
24 regretted their investments. So, we had a long
25 run of down prices. I don't think that justifies

1 market power, but I think these markets are really
2 working away economists with a sophisticated
3 understanding of the markets would expect.

4 They will go down. At some point, we
5 will probably have over investment in capacity,
6 probably not soon for California gasoline, but I
7 think in the short and medium run, we are stuck
8 where we are. I will come back to that when I
9 talk about some solutions in a second.

10 Let me make one comment about oil that
11 is sort of going to be out of the mainstream here.
12 I think it is time that Californians and Americans
13 stop whining about OPEC. The bumper sticker I
14 like is the one that says what are our oil
15 reserves doing underneath their country. It is
16 their oil. These countries have the right, I
17 think, to sell it to us or not sell it to us as we
18 please. We have to recognize when it comes to
19 dependence on oil from unstable and oppressive
20 regimes, we are our own worst enemy.

21 We are the ones who have gotten
22 ourselves into this situation and refuse to
23 recognize the untenable political situation it
24 puts us into. Yes, OPEC is running the the price
25 up, and you would expect exactly that. It is not

1 a very stable collusive agreement, and so if there
2 is a hit to the market, it could unwind as it did
3 in 1985 and 1999 because it unwinds pretty
4 quickly, partly because of the revenue
5 requirements. We enjoy those good times and we
6 don't complain that they are over producing then.

7 There is a real issue about investment
8 an infrastructure that I think Phil rightly
9 pointed out that if you really send the signal
10 that we are going to reduce consumption of your
11 product and they are thinking of making a 30 year,
12 50 year investment in a multi-billion dollars of
13 capital, boy, yeah, that is going to give them
14 pause if they believe you.

15 My guess is that they don't. My guess
16 is that they look backwards at all the jaw boning
17 about reducing gasoline consumption and I suspect
18 November 2 will matter to a significant extent on
19 this about how serious we are about for instance
20 CAFE standards.

21 Under either new administration, I
22 suspect we are not going to make huge progress any
23 time soon. It still is the case that almost
24 everyone thinks that 30 years from now we are
25 going to be an a different fuel regime. When you

1 think about that, making a huge capital investment
2 now has to pay off pretty quickly, not over 50
3 years because it is pretty clear that 50 years
4 from now you are not going to be making good money
5 with an oil refinery.

6 That means that the bar to make the
7 investment is higher now, and that means that we
8 are going to go through a period of pretty
9 expensive gasoline. That, by the way, doesn't
10 bother me. What bothers me is where the money is
11 going because the refiners are making essentially
12 scarcity rents, probably augmented by market power
13 and no, I can't prove it, but I think that in some
14 ways it is not relevant to most of the policy
15 decisions. Though, there are some that I think it
16 is critical, and I understand the difference.

17 The fact is that the price -- there is
18 going to be a real tight market. When there is a
19 tight market, the affect of a tax in the market is
20 born by the sellers primarily, not by the buyers.
21 This is basic economics of tax incidents.

22 Now is the time that California, if it
23 were serious, would be implementing a significant
24 gasoline tax. I know that no politician is going
25 to say this, but let me augment it by saying now

1 is the time they should be implementing a
2 significant gasoline tax and reducing personal
3 income tax for low income customers to offset it.
4 This does not have to be a revenue enhancement on
5 that. It could be to some extent, but the fact is
6 we are now taxing personal income that is people
7 working. We are giving disincentives to do things
8 that we should be encouraging, and we are giving
9 incentives to do things that we should be
10 discouraging or at least recognizing the external
11 costs of using.

12 Let me just cap this by saying Phil
13 Verleger is nodding while I say this, so we are in
14 agreement on some things. I really think that
15 realistically do we really want to solve this
16 problem? You are right, we are sort of nibbling
17 around the edges with the discussion about exactly
18 how much refiner capacity there is. There are
19 real reasons not to invest. There are also market
20 power reasons not to invest. The fact is that we
21 face a future where -- that is a place where it is
22 virtually impossible.

23 If you go to a refiner and say, look, we
24 looked at your investment profile. You could make
25 a positive net present value building a \$5 billion

1 refinery today, and they are going to say, yeah,
2 you are assuming something 30 years out, and we
3 are assuming something different, and you have no
4 good argument to override us on that.

5 I think if we are really serious about
6 this, we have implement policies that do reduce
7 gasoline consumptions. The one that will work
8 immediately is gas taxes. None of the others
9 will. The fact is that raising CAFE standards I
10 am for, I think it is a good idea. It will have
11 an affect in 2012, but it really won't have an
12 affect before then.

13 If we are serious about doing something,
14 that's the solution. Just let me say one other
15 thing then I will stop. It is not critical to
16 everything to understand how much market power
17 there is and how much scarcity there is. But it
18 is critical sometimes to understand that both of
19 them are present. Even if you don't fully
20 understand.

21 Let me give you one example. One of the
22 proposals I have been making for about five or six
23 years now is a permit system for importing non-
24 carb gasoline, and this of course is politically
25 gone absolutely no where. It makes tremendous

1 sense.

2 It basically say if we set a fee for
3 bringing in non-carb gasoline, it would be a
4 significant fee, one that clearly is above the
5 spread necessary to cover carb production. During
6 those super shortages, it would allow some relief,
7 the funds from that would be taken and used to
8 reduce pollution by buying back old cars.

9 If the spike is caused by market power,
10 those funds will never exist. If the spike is
11 caused because firms are withholding supply, their
12 incentive will be to withhold supply up to but not
13 above the point where you have a real shortage.

14 If the spike is caused by true scarcity,
15 it will have a different effect, it will really --
16 there will be a real shortage, and there will be
17 imports in order to offset it.

18 Those will have different effects. I
19 think it is a good policy in either case, but I
20 think it is important to understand exactly how it
21 will play out differently.

22 COMMISSIONER BOYD: Commissioner
23 Pfannenstiel.

24 COMMISSIONER PFANNENSTIEL: Yeah, I have
25 a question on the gas tax on suggestion. We

1 talked earlier about how low the price elasticity
2 is. Wouldn't you need to raise or have an
3 enormous tax in order to have the effect on
4 consumption that you are looking for?

5 MR. BORENSTEIN: There's good news and
6 bad news. The bad news is demand is very
7 inelastic and the good news is that supply is very
8 inelastic in this case. The reason is when you
9 get into a scarcity situation, if you remember
10 that curve with supply, the bad news is demand is
11 very inelastic, but the good news is if you put a
12 tax on it and can move supply down a bit or move
13 demand down a bit, you will reduce the wholesale
14 price quite a bit. That is the equivalent of
15 saying that when you are in a situation with very
16 steep supply, that is one of those real shortage
17 situations, the incident of the tax, the tax will
18 be born primarily by the sellers.

19 So, it is true that it won't drive the
20 net price down or sorry gross of tax price down to
21 consumers. They are going to pay a higher price.
22 I think that is a price that actually recognizes
23 all the bad negative externalities not just
24 pollution, but coddling, Saudi Arabia recognizing
25 the affect or our foreign policy throughout the

1 world, etc.

2 The fact is that for the people who are
3 truly harmed by that, I think it can be offset.

4 COMMISSIONER PFANNENSTIEL: But
5 you're --

6 DR. VERLEGER: Can I --

7 COMMISSIONER PFANNENSTIEL: Let me just
8 follow up and make sure I understand that. The
9 point is that it won't really affect demand, but
10 it will affect supply.

11 MR. BORENSTEIN: It will affect demand a
12 bit, but you are right, most people will consume
13 just a bit less gasoline. They will just end up
14 paying more for it.

15 COMMISSIONER PFANNENSTIEL: Because
16 gasoline prices as the whole reason for us being
17 here have gone up tremendously in the past year,
18 and that hasn't dampened demand.

19 MR. BORENSTEIN: Right. Actually,
20 that's not true, actually.

21 COMMISSIONER PFANNENSTIEL: I guess the
22 point that I am struggling with is this low
23 elasticity, and you know when you are talking
24 about demand not being very elastic, trying to
25 figure out how much of an increase in price you

1 need to dampen the demand or whether that has to
2 be over a long period of time or how you get it,
3 that dampening demand.

4 MR. BORENSTEIN: Yeah, and I think your
5 intuition is right that inelastic demand makes
6 this more costly program, although I would argue
7 that if we offset it, you can still -- but even
8 that said, I think when we are in these really
9 tight market points, the inelastic supply is what
10 drives it.

11 DR. VERLEGER: Jim, I want to chime in
12 here and the duel has ended in one sense. I
13 described the work that Houthakker and I did 30
14 years ago. It was done for the EPA, and the
15 second half was to study the affect in 1973 of a
16 \$0.50 a gallon gasoline tax.

17 With rebating by essentially paying off
18 the employee half of the social security tax,
19 which works just as Severin would describe it
20 because there is a cut off. I don't know where
21 the cut off is today, but it is \$80,000 or
22 \$90,000, so essentially you pay that back.

23 On a national basis, that neutralizes
24 the GEP affect almost entirely. Now there are
25 some localized problems. For my good deed, I got

1 John Sawhill fired because John Sawhill pushed the
2 idea before Jerry Ford, but it was then and
3 remains today a very good idea particularly
4 because it does work its way down, and as Severin
5 has pointed out, the incident falls on the oil
6 exporting countries.

7 I think Tom Freedman last Thursday in
8 the New York Times explained precisely why we want
9 to do this when he described the U.S. current
10 energy policy is leading is leave no bob behind.
11 He continued and he said this is a policy that
12 keeps on giving: Terrorism.

13 In terms of the international politics
14 of it, we were closer to democracy in Iran in 1988
15 when Iran had to negotiate with the Paris Club
16 because it had run out of money than we are today.

17 I think the Borenstein proposal on the
18 fee for gasoline would actually be much better
19 east of the Rockies if they would allow refiners
20 to bring in gasoline that didn't meet the current
21 sulphur specifications. We can blend on the east
22 because that would have brought in gasoline and
23 capped the escalation of gasoline prices and
24 probably cut out about half of the price increase
25 in crude oil we saw this spring.

1 What happened was new EPA standards,
2 just good EPA standards require the reduction of
3 sulphur. I think California is below 50 parts
4 (indiscernible), it is 350 or so on the East Coast
5 and coming down.

6 That gets me to the investment issue.
7 Again, I am going to appeal to some of the things
8 that Severin has talked about with the airlines.
9 The oil refiners confront a situation similar to
10 the airlines, the network airlines that are now
11 going bankrupt in a different way.

12 The network airlines have seen the low
13 cost carriers come in and where, for example,
14 there was an opportunity to offer them a marginal
15 incentive from the government or give it to a
16 network carrier, it has gone to the small carrier.

17 Classic case in point is Frontier
18 Airlines can fly from Denver to Washington's
19 National Airport, United can't. Congress
20 authorized one airline and they picked it.

21 What I see kind of as I study, and
22 nobody has told me this in the behavior of the oil
23 companies is a concern that any time there is an
24 environmental regulation that goes in and the
25 supply affect, they may well grant waivers to

1 smaller companies, just as in the airline
2 business.

3 Whereas as the major airlines, the
4 network airlines, let me be precise, have
5 continued to invest and try to compete with, what
6 we are seeing in the case of a number of companies
7 is kind of backing off on the investment and
8 saying we are concerned about the waivers that are
9 granted to smaller companies.

10 These companies have choices as to where
11 they can put their investment and what you see is
12 kind of moving out of these markets where the risk
13 to the reoccurrence of expanding capacity are
14 undercut.

15 That has been offset to a certain extent
16 by producing countries moving in. Venezuela for
17 instance with Citgo, but that is one explanation I
18 think for why there has been less investment here
19 on the West Coast than you might otherwise
20 predict.

21 This is why when I was making my
22 comment, I think the FTC's policy of preserving
23 competition is basically a good one, but it is
24 creating new competitors in the refining business
25 where you may have to have to run a big refining

1 business, you may have to have \$5 billion in
2 letters of credit to hold inventories. The banks
3 may only extend \$3 billion.

4 I follow Jeff's work and use Jeff's work
5 a lot over the years, but the cost of credit is
6 not easily integrated into kind of this inventory
7 analysis. I will tell you there is one company on
8 the East Coast, Primcore, that is now having to
9 borrow oil from the strategic petroleum reserve
10 because apparently they don't have the cash to
11 carry the inventories.

12 Just today, they got another loan from
13 the SPR. There may be some other reasons, it is
14 not clear, but the capital costs of holding
15 inventories at \$50 a barrel are just so high.

16 You go back to the electricity thing,
17 and I think it is not that different from the
18 problems that Calpine had when the electricity
19 price went way up and the natural gas price went
20 up.

21 This feeling, this suspicion that the
22 majors won't get treated exactly the same does
23 influence the investment. I come back to the
24 question you asked about OPEC, Commissioner Boyd,
25 and it is a -- I think that we shouldn't whine

1 about OPEC, I agree. I do think we should do
2 something about OPEC.

3 Every country has a right to sell its
4 oil, the volume of oil it wants. What the people
5 neglect is Saudi Arabia is essentially coerced
6 other countries into cutting production by
7 threatening to dump oil on the market at periods
8 of time. That, I think, is not good. Getting
9 together and deciding what the right price is
10 wrong.

11 Tim, even though he is a very well
12 educated man, we know not to do that inside the
13 United States, and we shouldn't. The Europeans
14 don't allow it, and we shouldn't allow it any
15 place.

16 MR. HAMILTON: A cartel is a cartel, and
17 in a lot of the world, all productions starts in
18 behaviors that would be they would be in jail in
19 the United States.

20 That being said, one of the things that
21 I have tried to do as a common sense factor is I
22 did this with the Wall Street Journal and some of
23 them where you talked about mega mergers and
24 power. They said well look at synergies has given
25 us this much money. I said how much money has it

1 given you at Exxon Mobile.

2 Exxon Mobile admitted I believe taking
3 this off the top of my head \$500 million over an
4 unknown period of time. I said okay, what if the
5 market power give them in the form of higher
6 gasoline prices using an inaccurate chart like a
7 billion dollars in six months. You know my common
8 sense tells me that if I was a bean counter
9 sitting in Exxon Mobile in Houston, my motivation
10 wouldn't be synergies at \$500 million, it would be
11 the \$1 billion instantaneously. So, count the
12 money.

13 When it comes to low inventories,
14 understand that yeah low inventories cost you a
15 lot of money for somebody like Primcore like you
16 used as an example, but you take BP/Arco, it
17 didn't cost them anymore to bring gas out of Anwar
18 or oil out of Anwar, ship it down here
19 necessarily, store it.

20 The only thing that went up was their
21 paper asset values they charged themselves
22 internally. So, they didn't go running to a bank.

23 When you get to the inventory structure
24 and you get to these rules and regulations like
25 CARB, understand how these affect companies

1 differently. Small refineries versus big refiners
2 which is one of the reasons why there is always a
3 regulatory consideration about smaller.

4 The other thing that I would like to
5 point is that a gas tax is I guess if you can
6 allocate fuel by price, and you are going to take
7 the \$0.50 a gallon an higher margins might be
8 earned in Martinez away from the oil companies or
9 tack it on to what the oil companies charge.

10 As a consumer coming to California, I
11 just think that would get two of you with your
12 hands in my pocket, and I don't care which one of
13 you takes it out, but I just assume one of you
14 would. Plus before you get to the fact that
15 starts to affect your ability to have retailers
16 who sell other items who can't sell because the
17 customers are paying the higher tax and all that.

18 One other point that I would like to
19 make about this is that we talked about waivers,
20 and we agree and disagree at the same time. He
21 agrees there should be a waiver so we can fuel in.
22 Whether you do it strategic reserve, it's done on
23 a waiver. The difference is this. I believe
24 correctly 1999 Chevron applied for a waiver. We
25 had that big old price spike and Chevron applied

1 for a waiver. I was tracking cargos.

2 There were cargos getting ready to come
3 to California. Chevron came out I believe it was
4 and said we want a waiver. That scared everybody,
5 so the gas didn't come. Chevron was eh, we won't
6 use it. Now the companies that were involved in
7 dropping the ball that created the shortfall
8 controlled the waiver process. You guys gave them
9 that.

10 Only the person who drops the ball who
11 is making the extra \$0.50 has the right to bring
12 the fuel in. And you say oh, but it will be a
13 \$0.15 penalty. If my margin goes up \$0.50 a
14 gallon on all those millions of barrels of gas,
15 and I am going to still get a \$0.35 net profit on
16 this little bit that I bring in. Holy Cow, it is
17 phenomenal. Do the math. The math on their gain
18 from these things I would turn it around. I would
19 say Chevron, you have a problem, you don't get to
20 get it in.

21 You get no waiver. Everyone else, come
22 one come all. Punish those who drop the ball,
23 don't provide them with financial windfalls or
24 they will continue to drop the ball. That is my
25 economic analysis on a non-economic or non-

1 economist point of view. It does not provide
2 economic windfalls -- are you going to give them
3 incentives to drop the ball.

4 MR. BORENSTEIN: I just want to second
5 half of what Tim just said that I think that was a
6 real problem the way it was implemented and the
7 right solution would have been a market-wide
8 waiver. I wouldn't exclude Chevron from it, but I
9 don't think Chevron would be the first to pick it
10 up.

11 Unfortunately, the way it was used was
12 at the very least quite disturbing and potentially
13 and exercise of market power, that it was
14 essentially a way to deter entry into the market.

15 I don't know that for a fact, but boy
16 the incentive was there at that time. That was
17 exactly the situation, a very tight market with an
18 inelastic demand. It is when we really could have
19 used that waiver on a market-wide basis.

20 MR. HAGGQUIST: I'd like to just address
21 Commissioner Pfann's issues. You pointed out
22 Jacky that this morning we seemed to indicate that
23 there's incentive toward market power, and yet no
24 way to test that, and I think one way to test that
25 is to go through "what if" scenarios, realistic

1 what if scenarios.

2 If I am a trader and you are a marketer,
3 if I am a trader and I am an integrated oil
4 company, I am a trader who is a system trader
5 balancing my system. I am not going outside my
6 system, staying within my system, and my incentive
7 is to do a good job to balance the system. That
8 is what I am supposed to do, just like someone at
9 ISO balances the electricity flow. That is one
10 scenario.

11 Another scenario is if I'm a trader in
12 the hurly burly move the market style, and
13 Severin's paper, the good things about his paper,
14 was that it draws to attention to the potentiality
15 for a situation to exist where if you plant a real
16 trader into an integrated company who can move the
17 market by virtue of his or her activity out in the
18 market, what if for example I know that my
19 refinery is going to have some problems. I might
20 have to come down with my refinery next month. I
21 know that, but the market does not know that, I
22 know that. So, if that is going to be the case,
23 you know, we might lost 100,000 to 200,000,
24 300,000 barrels might come out of the system.

25 What I am going to do is I am going to

1 go out in the market. I don't want to show myself
2 in the market as a physical buyer because I will
3 spook the market. So, what I will do is either I
4 will work through brokers quietly and collect
5 paper positions, so to speak. I will buy forward
6 paper. I will lock in. Today's price is \$1.50 a
7 gallon in the spot wholesale market, I'll get some
8 brokers to buy me next month 50,000 barrels and
9 build up a position at a \$1.45 because there is a
10 little backwardation there. So, I have collected
11 200,000 or 300,000 barrel position, paper
12 position.

13 Then what happens is the real event
14 occurs that I already knew about. The real event
15 occurs, and I am rewarded on this basis. My
16 incentive, the money I put in my pocket and go
17 home with at the end of the year is based upon my
18 ability to make money on my position.

19 If that be the case, the physical event
20 occurs, and by golly, how did that happen. We are
21 short, and we have to go out and buy some physical
22 barrels in the market. We had to really show
23 ourselves in the market and buy some real gasoline
24 out there.

25 When we do that, since the paper

1 accumulation probably pushed the market up four or
2 five cents, now we come up physically, that sends
3 the signal, wow, it is going, it is going.
4 Company "X" is in, it is going to the moon, it is
5 going up. That's good. I've got my paper
6 position locked in. If I bought it at \$1.45, it
7 goes to \$1.55, I got 10 cents a gallon on all
8 these barrels on the paper market that I have
9 logged in. It shoots right through there, then
10 the company, my company, goes in and covers their
11 physical position, and the rising tide rises all
12 boats.

13 You know these prices they scoop it up
14 another 10 cents. That gets printed by OPIS, then
15 this trucks that I put up this simple cartoons, I
16 say if these cartoons or these flow charts that I
17 put up there are not accurate, tear them down. If
18 they are accurate, pay a lot of attention to them,
19 a lot of attention to them. Either they are
20 accurate or they are not accurate.

21 If they are, then you have a way to test
22 whether there is market power because if I do this
23 as a non-affiliated trader, and I collect my
24 100,000 to 200,000 barrels of paper position, and
25 I get it wrong, I lose. My company loses.

1 There's no secondary advantage to my company. If
2 I do it as an embedded trader, I might lose -- no
3 I can't lose. I cannot lose because I have a
4 personal incentive to pay a higher price in the
5 market, pay a little higher to trade that paper up
6 because I bought lower.

7 What I think would be helpful would be a
8 real workshop, maybe not this time, next time
9 where you go through a bunch of scenarios. This
10 is the way things work. This is the mechanics of
11 it. This is the scheduling, puts some meat on the
12 bones that we saw with the economists presented
13 and find out whether there is any market power
14 exercised in that way. That's all.

15 MR. HAMILTON: If I could just jump in
16 real quickly. I paid my own way down here. I'll
17 pay his if you hold that meeting, okay. I'll pay
18 his.

19 MR. HAGGQUIST: One other thing I
20 think -- Drew are you still on the line?

21 MR. LAUGHLIN: Yeah, I wanted to chime
22 in when you get a chance.

23 MR. HAGGQUIST: Yeah, you also asked
24 Jacky about short term solutions that are
25 realistic. I think maybe Drew could address

1 those.

2 MR. LAUGHLIN: There are quite a few
3 points I want to talk about right now, but one of
4 them is what Gregg was alluding to was one of the
5 things that might be a solution is I don't know
6 how many people are familiar with the new FERC
7 affiliate rules that now apply to electricity and
8 gas trading. They came into effect oh about four
9 weeks ago.

10 I am sitting in Houston right now
11 actually in an office. This has got teeth, this
12 is serious, and every company in this business has
13 now taken and made moves to comply what FERC stops
14 short, and they shouldn't have.

15 FERC stopped at these only apply to gas
16 and electricity. It is supposed to now be a code
17 of conduct with crude oil, refined products,
18 LPG's, chemicals. It has absolutely no backbone
19 at all. This is something I think you need to
20 explore because by exploring it, either it can be
21 put and implemented in the State of California,
22 even the state legislator might want to look at
23 this. At least it will bring people to the table
24 to talk about it because I am not going to talk
25 about these are abuses, but we have seen that

1 market players in California recently and even
2 today are still controlling assets and not opening
3 up for public.

4 This is not done in a mean spirited,
5 this is just done for corporate profits, and we
6 are seeing companies that have virtual monopoly
7 positions holding those positions and now allowing
8 outside players to come into this state.

9 The commissioners know exactly which I
10 am talking about, especially on pipelines right
11 now, and the infrastructure to get into those
12 pipelines. If you can't get into the pipelines
13 from the tanks, you have basically created a back
14 log. You don't need the docks for the tanks,
15 you've got to be able to get into the pipe.

16 We have continued situations where this
17 has not opened up, but the situation coming up and
18 I believe someone was talking about extreme
19 backwardation about an hour or so ago, and this is
20 really going to hit us in a few months.

21 The refiners, traders do not want to
22 hold inventory at this level. They still view
23 this price as an aberration, but nobody wants to
24 get caught holding. This is essentially a case of
25 musical chairs, and no one wants to get caught.

1 What this is doing is this is driving
2 inventory prices down lower -- excuse me,
3 inventory is down lower, and believe me, it is
4 more vulnerable for more volatility because nobody
5 wants to be caught with these inventories. So,
6 what you are seeing is traders, shippers,
7 blenders, the whole industry is cutting their
8 inventories at these high levels not wanting to
9 get burned if these prices come off.

10 This is going to cause -- I was asked a
11 couple of weeks ago why the price isn't \$3.00 a
12 gallon, and the reason in California and I believe
13 it is a question of timing. If this \$53 hit in
14 February or March where we were coming out of the
15 gasoline or into the gasoline season, we probably
16 would be looking at \$3.00 quite easily.

17 We've got some other problems that are
18 hitting us simultaneously with this. The demand
19 for fuels isn't just for gasoline, but the demand
20 for the same fuels into the chemical market is
21 almost historic.

22 We are not just seeing this in the
23 United States. This is where the Far East is
24 really becoming an engine driving this entire
25 market right now. They are not just buying

1 gasoline for their cars, they're buying feed
2 stocks for their ethylene plants.

3 We are seeing exports of high octane
4 components out of the United States,
5 (indiscernible) TX, benzine going to the Far East.
6 We are seeing even today, we are seeing this is a
7 little different, we are seeing diesel exported
8 from the United States going into Europe.

9 Again, what we are seeing here is this a
10 global market, but we are setting ourselves up
11 again for probably some serious price spikes in
12 the spring. Things are moving very slowly to try
13 and open up this infrastructure out there. In the
14 meantime, I'm not seeing in this last six to eight
15 months we have been talking about this and
16 situations have not fixed themselves.

17 The permits for new tanks has not come
18 about in the LA Basin. We haven't seen any new
19 tanks being built, and the market can absorb these
20 tanks. This is the one thing I want to stress is
21 this strategic storage, and again, it isn't just
22 the fact of having volume out there. It is more
23 important to have quality volume out there,
24 whether it is a lower RVP, low sulphur TX, or
25 alkylate. This type of material is sort of a

1 force multiplier.

2 If you have a problem, usually
3 refineries don't just have a problem at all plants
4 at all parts of refineries are down, only pieces
5 of the plants usually shut down. But then they
6 have problems making specifications, and by having
7 high quality components sitting ready to go, you
8 are able to basically take refineries and continue
9 to operate certain parts of the refineries and be
10 able to at least make some gasoline to go into the
11 markets out there.

12 As we see in the U.S., we are seeing the
13 California -- this is one of the questions is that
14 the quality of California gasoline, it has been a
15 factor in the past. It is becoming less of a
16 factor as our sulphur levels become very familiar
17 in the U.S. We are getting down to levels of
18 almost California-type levels in the U.S. We will
19 be down to the 30 PPM level within the next year
20 or the year after in the northeast and the Gulf
21 Coast.

22 As we move to these levels, the quality
23 issue gets to be less and less. One of the
24 problems we are having this refining capacity
25 problem is no longer a California problem. It is

1 a U.S. problem. Now it has even gone past being a
2 U.S. problem. We are surpassing world refining
3 capacity right now. You can produce all the crude
4 you want, you don't have any place to put it.

5 Even if you do, we have a problem in the
6 mix of crudes. The crude that is coming out is
7 heavy in (indiscernible) sulphur, and what we are
8 seeing in the world refining market is an
9 inability to handle that type of material. We've
10 got a disconnect of what we need in this country
11 as a high quality product coming from an extremely
12 complex refineries that are built on almost
13 specific crude sometimes.

14 When we lose supply of that specific
15 crude, those refineries have a hard time bringing
16 their production back up to 100 percent. It cost
17 them 3 percent or 4 percent to switch to a
18 different crude oil.

19 These little problems just become bigger
20 problems as we get into the next couple of years.

21 COMMISSIONER BOYD: Jeffrey.

22 DR. WILLIAMS: Might I say something
23 since we've got back to inventories and that is
24 actually something that I have thought about a
25 lot.

1 It is very important to do a scenario
2 analysis as Greg Haggquist is saying, but there is
3 a danger here because it is one scenario, and I
4 can develop a lot of other ones where
5 (indiscernible) decision to hold a lot of
6 inventories say looks really foolish. By the
7 nature of these things, the decisions that after
8 the fact they are going to look foolish either
9 way.

10 Let's say right now shouldn't somebody
11 with gasoline stocks release them because the
12 price of gasoline is quite high. If things work a
13 certain scenario in two months, that will look
14 foolish because the price went up a lot. But it
15 would also look pretty foolish if it went down
16 too. So, to be able to say there is a scenario
17 under which it is good to have inventories or
18 something doesn't prove ex ante that is why it is
19 taking into account the probabilities of the
20 certain scenarios. So, it is not sufficient just
21 to come up with a scenario. You have to make a
22 probablistic judgement of that and balance it
23 against other ones.

24 This is a fundamental problem in judging
25 what is the optimal amount of inventories. I have

1 an instinct. I can't call it anymore than that,
2 that private companies tend to do that better than
3 large bureaucratic governments, but governments
4 get it right sometimes, so I won't preclude that
5 as a possibility.

6 I think we have to recognize that
7 inventories are an investment too, and all the
8 uncertainties about investments we have been
9 talking about for 30 years apply to inventories
10 but over 30 days, but the effect is very very
11 large and very fast.

12 A final point on inventories, and we are
13 talking about how the oil companies are perceived
14 and so forth, I wonder what the public will think
15 about private traders who bought gasoline at \$0.80
16 a gallon and now it is \$1.60 or something. What
17 did they do to deserve that profit. They didn't
18 even make the stuff.

19 Many other industries we hear that type
20 of private trader maligned a great deal. I would
21 imagine one reason we have integrated oil
22 companies as much as we do is that their protected
23 from those kind of accusations, and maybe what we
24 have to learn is stop whining about people who
25 make windfall profits.

1 MR. COVI: Drew, this is Brian, I just
2 want to ask some clarifying questions on what you
3 just said about these new FERC rules I wasn't
4 aware of. You said they apply to oil and to gas.

5 MR. LAUGHLIN: No, they apply to gas
6 and electricity.

7 MR. COVI: Gas as a natural gas.

8 MR. LAUGHLIN: Natural gas and
9 electricity.

10 MR. COVI: And they don't apply to
11 refined product.

12 MR. LAUGHLIN: No, they do not. They
13 are a code of conduct with absolutely no teeth at
14 all.

15 MR. COVI: Oh, I see. Then you talked
16 about doing something similar in California, but
17 do you have a good feel for what proportion of the
18 pipeline --

19 MR. LAUGHLIN: Just like what Greg was
20 talking about as far as market knowledge. Go
21 ahead.

22 MR. COVI: What proportions of the
23 pipelines in California come under FERC
24 jurisdiction versus CPUC. Do you have any idea
25 about that?

1 MR. LAUGHLIN: I don't, but again, what
2 you have to define -- we are finding out in the
3 last couple of months, you have to almost define
4 what for tariff purposes, or are you talking about
5 what our problem is for tie ins. We are finding
6 that FERC has absolutely no power at all when it
7 comes to forcing tie ins on oil pipelines, but
8 they do in gas pipelines.

9 It is a complex answer to that question.

10 MR. COVI: It would be the same,
11 wouldn't it if you had tariff jurisdiction, you
12 would have jurisdiction over gathering lines as
13 well?

14 MR. LAUGHLIN: Not necessarily.

15 MR. COVI: Okay.

16 DR. VERLEGER: Brian, point of fact that
17 the oil pipelines originally were under the
18 Interstate Commerce Commission. They were
19 transferred to FERC under a very different set of
20 rules than the natural gas pipelines. FERC then
21 proceeded to approve deregulation of certain
22 parts. For example, I believe the Kinder Morgan
23 pipeline gathering system down in Southern
24 California has been deregulated on the argument
25 that it was competitive.

1 If it was still under the FERC
2 regulation, the parts that are under the FERC
3 regulations I think tie ins are easier where they
4 have deregulated it, essentially, there is no way
5 to directly force it to happen.

6 MR. HAMILTON: One of the things that I
7 don't think the states, because there is this
8 limitation with what states can do fully
9 recognize -- we use a lot of terminology like spot
10 and prompt and futures and all that stuff. When I
11 go to look at it, I find it is really interesting
12 because you know to sell crude to a spot market
13 you have to be a crude producer and you can't put
14 it in your lawn mower, so to buy it back you have
15 to be a refiner. So, this looks like daisy
16 chains. Okay?

17 What I also find to be interesting is
18 that the commodities market whether it is Chicago,
19 and I am sure not an expert at this, but then you
20 also have the New York Merc and we are referencing
21 prices to the New York Merc for all this gasoline
22 that FOB New York Harbor. Who cares, it wasn't
23 coming here, it didn't have anything to do with
24 supply and demand. It didn't increase your drive,
25 it didn't short it, but all the sudden we are

1 referencing things. We are referencing contracts
2 and stuff.

3 One of the things I believe is that if
4 you went out and try to gather -- went out and
5 bought paper, futures in the New York Merc, and
6 then started playing games with the fuel
7 availability in the New York Harbor by grabbing on
8 to it and say exporting it to Australia, so that
9 your paper would go up in value, it is
10 manipulating the market, it is irregulated
11 commodity trading. You've got yourself a jail
12 time here.

13 If you were to go out in California and
14 be a refiner and sit back and say, oh, I will take
15 my fuel from Refinery A in Hawaii, send it to New
16 Zealand, and then I will turn around and buy my
17 barrels I need back in San Francisco on the spot
18 and the subsequent increase in price benefits me
19 and all my west coast refineries is not illegal.

20 Something that deserves an awful lot of
21 attention, and this is why I want to see the
22 meeting you called for, is an understanding of who
23 the players are and how this paper works, and how
24 it functions because it is an interesting
25 phenomena.

1 MR. HAGGQUIST: The answer to both your
2 point and Jeffrey's point in terms of inventories,
3 which you would have to describe as dynamic
4 inventory, meaning the inventory that is linked
5 directly to Nymex, you know, the gasoline market
6 in California now has drifted in that direction
7 and deals are now done not on fixed prices, but
8 rather on Nymex pegged prices, right?

9 Okay, you buy Nymex plus "X" today,
10 Nymex plus \$0.40, that is your price in your tank.
11 Because of that, you are able to walk into that
12 tank value against the forward market in New York
13 Harbor, so if you have gasoline in tank in LA
14 against Nymex, you've got it hedged, and you can
15 bring a cargo in from the Caribbean or whatever
16 because it is linked to Nymex, just as the jet
17 fuel players do.

18 This has been happening in jet fuel for
19 years. As the global arbitrage linked to Nymex is
20 a heating oil plus differential for jet fuel
21 coming in to Los Angeles. Not sold on a fixed
22 price, it is sold on what they call a dif.
23 Everything is done on a dif, so inventory,
24 physical inventory is in fact linked to forward
25 curb pricing on a transparent EF exchange for

1 physical type market and it is hedged. That is
2 the reason.

3 Do you agree with that, Jeff?

4 DR. WILLIAMS: I agree with that
5 completely, but I might make two observations on
6 what Mr. Hamilton said.

7 One is that kind of trading has emerged
8 slowly and many other commodities firsted in the
9 grains in the 1890's and a lot of people didn't
10 like it then, and now everybody imagines how could
11 they live without it. I can give many other
12 examples.

13 It is a slow process in many ways seems
14 more opaque. I am not surprised it is happening
15 in California. I don't think it is necessarily a
16 bad development.

17 Your other point about it is illegal
18 under the Commodity Exchange Act of 1936 to
19 manipulate commodity markets, such as Nymex is
20 certainly true, and yet there is a lot of other
21 behavior that is awful close to that, that is
22 allowable. That is a puzzle, let's leave it at
23 that.

24 DR. VERLEGER: Jeff, can I add that
25 Tim's example of buying gasoline in New York and

1 moving it to Australia would not qualify. It is
2 not illegal under the Commodity Exchange Act. It
3 is --

4 DR. WILLIAMS: Unless you had a position
5 on Nymex, and then it would be.

6 DR. VERLEGER: The question -- the
7 approval of the contract in Nymex, having just
8 spent a long time as an expert for the Nymex on
9 this, is the first point was approval -- the
10 question is whether you caused the price to go up.
11 That was correct, but you don't approve a contract
12 for delivery as you know unless there is a large
13 number of suppliers into the market.

14 What we have seen, the one case of real
15 manipulation in the New York Mercantile Exchange
16 was the Mattel Gazelle shaft episode where they
17 took very large long positions and wound up losing
18 a lot of money, several billion dollars. They
19 were poster --

20 DR. WILLIAMS: Which suggest they
21 weren't very effective at manipulating.

22 DR. VERLEGER: They were terrible, but
23 because their actions had an affect on the market.
24 The fact of the matter is the reason New York is a
25 good delivery point and why it doesn't work very

1 well in California is there are multiple delivery
2 locations, there are pipelines coming in, there
3 are a large number of refiners producing the
4 specification.

5 If you go down to the criteria for
6 approving a futures contract, you want a large
7 number of suppliers, you want the commodity to
8 move easily to the market, you want it to be
9 storable, and you want a large number of buyers so
10 that nobody can really take a position like that
11 and cause any manipulation.

12 My comment to that would be is if
13 somebody were to try that, the price would move --
14 they probably would be unsuccessful.

15 DR. WILLIAMS: I agree with that point
16 very much, Phil, I was positing that they had
17 moved it, but I am very skeptical that you can
18 manipulate a major futures exchange, but were you
19 to do that, it is illegal.

20 DR. VERLEGER: Yeah. That is exactly
21 right, yes. Okay, I'm sorry.

22 MR. HAMILTON: As a clarification, what
23 I was generally trying to say is that the spot
24 market is not a commodities trading pet. It is
25 not a regulated identity. It is a handful of

1 players reporting to a trade journal what a
2 transaction had occurred that day.

3 Like with OPIS. These are unregulated
4 sales. The other point is that if you had a
5 futures price tied to the New York Merc, and you
6 were able to go in and buy some available barrels
7 and ship it to Argentina, you can make a lot of
8 money in California today. You can see those
9 things go on as this paper moves and you are able
10 to handle the available supply because it takes
11 very little movement and very small percentage of
12 it to have the spot go, which then turns around
13 and starts delivering either gross rewards or
14 gross disappointments.

15 DR. VERLEGER: Can I just a point of
16 fact. The spot market has changed recently.
17 There is now what is called MOC trading where all
18 the trading on a series of the major oils now has
19 to go through the computers on plats and only the
20 transactions that are offered over a one window
21 period, Singapore Brent, gas oil in Europe, and
22 all these.

23 I mean your description of the
24 (indiscernible) reporting system is absolutely
25 right, but what has happened is the reporting

1 services has been trying to change that, and you
2 have the name of the bidder and the buyer and the
3 seller going across. They have created
4 transparency which is what these markets want.

5 I am sorry for the interjection.

6 MR. WILLIAMS: I was going to make a
7 point about the scenarios where someone could
8 manipulate the spot market or let's even take a
9 futures market more generally. These are
10 possibilities, I think they are quite unlikely.

11 In part, the two scenarios that we have
12 heard, somebody out there was pretty stupid not to
13 even think of it as a possibility. The counter
14 party in those trades, and I don't think most oil
15 traders are that stupid, so when they make those
16 paper contracts, they are thinking about the
17 possibility of being squeezed or the cargo goes
18 away.

19 Which isn't to say that it will never
20 happen, but there is a natural defense mechanism
21 in these markets.

22 MR. HAMILTON: I just want to tell you
23 there is a difference between a trader and a
24 refiner like Standard Oil in California. They can
25 move barrels without taking any risk.

1 MR. BORENSTEIN: Let me pick up on that
2 because I think there is a critical distinction
3 between market power and market manipulation. In
4 the electricity business, the FERC didn't
5 understand that to our great detriment, but it is
6 really important.

7 Market power is a physical market
8 activity of restricting output in order to raise
9 price. Market manipulation on an exchange is a
10 activity of essentially tricking somebody. It is
11 what economists call an asymmetric information
12 problem.

13 That is, somebody doesn't know what you
14 are doing. So, you manipulate a market by for
15 instance by taking a very long position that
16 people expect you to liquidate and then not
17 liquidating and saying I want delivery.

18 In fact, SEC has good rules or CFDC,
19 sorry, has good rules about how you are supposed
20 to proceed, and Nymex has rules that if you have
21 such and such a position, you have to unwind it
22 such and such dates in advance, etc. etc.

23 The FERC took those rules and said,
24 well, there is the manipulation going on in the
25 California market. We will take these rules from

1 the CFDC and apply them here and that will solve
2 the problem. I just want to make clear that was a
3 lack of understanding of the distinction between
4 market manipulation, for which those rules are
5 quite appropriate, and market power which is not
6 tricking anybody. Everybody knew that certain
7 generators had enough capacity that at peak times
8 they could drive the electricity price to the
9 roof. There is no position limit on futures
10 markets that is going to change that.

11 They simply had the physical ability to
12 drive price. I just want to make it clear that
13 when you think of this futures market and
14 manipulation, that is a very distinct concept for
15 a market power in the product market.

16 COMMISSIONER BOYD: Greg, I am going to
17 let you go, and then I am going to say we are
18 going to bring the public into this because we
19 told them that at around 3:00, it being 3:15 by my
20 watch, 3:20 by the clock on the wall. So, your
21 comment, and then I will ask for --

22 MR. HAGGQUIST: Just a last quicky.
23 Jeffrey is talking about the manipulation of the
24 price and somebody not being so stupid to take a
25 position against it. Many times the trader might

1 be bringing in a cargo and pricing -- bringing in
2 jet fuel cargo and he is pricing the cargo against
3 a local index or a gasoline on a floating price.
4 We call it a floating price.

5 When you have a whole cargo pricing
6 against a floating OPIS price on pipelines, you
7 have reason to make a -- you are -- if you are
8 selling, obviously you want it to go up. If you
9 are buying, obviously you want it to go down. So,
10 this business of selling a small volume in order
11 to price a large volume is very common all around
12 the world in every market, including California
13 gasoline.

14 COMMISSIONER BOYD: Okay, here come the
15 blue cards. I'll just take them in which they
16 came to me. Joe Sparano, President of WSPA. We
17 have a podium right back there, Joe.

18 MR. SPARANO: A real live mike,
19 excellent. Just a few things running through my
20 head listening to the conversation over the last
21 five hours. First of all, I would like to
22 compliment the Commission for having a very
23 balanced panel. There were a lot of things I
24 heard that I thought well of, and there were some
25 things that I really didn't like a whole lot. I

1 guess that is a form of balance.

2 A couple of things that struck my mind
3 before I get into the factual content, and maybe
4 that will sound whimsical or even stupid.
5 Sometimes you get what you wish for. We've been
6 batting the ball around here about what it is
7 wrong with the gasoline market, what is wrong with
8 petroleum markets.

9 We have had a system in this country
10 that has systematically over the last 30 years
11 eliminated a lot of incentives to build capacity,
12 certainly has made it much more difficult to build
13 capacity of any source for any reason in any
14 place, mostly California.

15 We don't have a national energy policy.
16 We haven't ever had one that I know of that has
17 been effective. It would be a good thing if we
18 had one because I think it would give us all
19 something to work under and within.

20 Collaboration here in this case would be
21 a very good thing. The other thing that struck me
22 is that maybe we need to look in the mirror about
23 some of the areas that trouble any of us. We have
24 the right to go forward and do some things that
25 are constructive. I think there has been a great

1 deal of effort in that area made already. I think
2 we ought to be redoubling those efforts and
3 getting at some of the things that would allow
4 action to take place that would create a greater
5 supply of product.

6 If you don't like fossil fuels, fine.
7 They are going to be around for a while, and they
8 are good and as clean as we can make them, and we
9 will make them cleaner over time. Drew I think
10 referred to the sulphur reductions that are nation
11 wide. That is all a good thing.

12 I don't think any of us would argue with
13 one another that breathing bad air is smarter than
14 breathing good air. But there has to be a
15 concerted effort to get at the root of the
16 problem, and I think maybe we are nibbling around
17 the edges, and I borrowed that from somebody on
18 that. I think Severin said that earlier. We
19 might be nibbling around the edges, and we need to
20 go to the heart.

21 I think that more than anything the
22 notion of reducing petroleum demand by 15 percent
23 as a way to get at some of the difficulties that
24 confront all of us here in California is not as
25 productive as it could be. By that, I mean it

1 really does send a tremendous bad signal to those
2 companies that Tim mentioned who he suggested
3 would not invest under any circumstances.

4 I tell you what, I run companies in this
5 industry, and I have been doing it for 36 years.
6 You give me an opportunity where you want to take
7 away market share where you want to make it more
8 difficult perhaps impossible to create new
9 facilities which do in fact allow you to take
10 advantage of a good market, the notion that people
11 cut production when prices are high. I have been
12 doing this for a long time, and I don't ever
13 remember doing that, not once, not ever, not for
14 any reason.

15 We have this system where we are looking
16 at taking away a percentage of the product as a
17 means to get healthier. I don't buy it, and I
18 think it really does create a problem if one wants
19 private industry to come in and invest in
20 refineries, in pipelines, and infrastructure
21 related to marine deliveries, what a wonderful
22 opportunity for LNG. We have companies that
23 despite some of the things we've heard have tried
24 very hard to build new capacity, tankage in the
25 Los Angeles and Long Beach Harbors.

1 There is a company that went to permit
2 tankage. The public reaction to that permitting
3 process has set them back many many months, maybe
4 forever.

5 Another company would like to produce
6 ultra low sulphur diesel. I perceive that is a
7 good thing. They are hung up in the permit
8 process because local entities have made it very
9 very difficult for the permit to progress. I am
10 not saying there aren't any good reasons, there
11 probably are some good reasons, but the fact of
12 the matter is, there are a lot of hurdles that
13 make it very difficult for people in this industry
14 and in any industry here in California to help us
15 all make progress.

16 There was a comment that the industry
17 has not invested money. I was in the middle of,
18 and I know there are many companies represented
19 here, spending \$7 billion from the early '90's
20 through the last couple of years, \$7 billion
21 inside California to make cleaner products,
22 gasoline and diesel, and to make some additional
23 barrels, some capacity. Most of it was to make
24 cleaner products.

25 I don't care who you are, those are not

1 minuscule investments. I think we need to keep
2 our eye on the ball there and make sure when we
3 look at investments, we don't run around with the
4 chicken and the egg. You won't invest because you
5 don't want to invest and we don't want to invest
6 because you won't make it easy for us to invest.
7 That is a big circle, and you ought to attack the
8 problem together and create a system that takes
9 into account local needs, local requirements to
10 protect communities, no backsliding.

11 I think it is doable. I think maybe
12 Greg's idea of getting the shirt sleeves rolled up
13 and sitting down and mapping that out is a hell of
14 a good idea. We can talk about it forever, I
15 think we need to sit down and maybe map out some
16 things and present them to those parties who have
17 the power to take some action whether it is an
18 administrative order or legislative action. Those
19 things can be done.

20 In discussing the issue of market power,
21 I personally from what I have read of the report
22 and from what I have heard today, I think there
23 are many elements of market power that appear in
24 theoretically one can observe and say maybe it
25 could happen. I've also heard today, and this is

1 me offering my opinion to the group, my
2 observation is that there is a fair amount of
3 evidence from a number of speakers that on a
4 practical level, there has not been market power,
5 that market power is not exercised.

6 That doesn't make sense for companies to
7 do things like cut production when prices are up.
8 I can tell you when I cut production. I start it
9 as one of those folks that Phil mentioned earlier,
10 somebody who wanted to get ahead and was charged
11 with the responsibility to make more product
12 whenever possible. You cut production when the
13 prices are low in the hope that because you might
14 be over producing you can bring supply and demand
15 back in balance.

16 Even more important than that, you cut
17 production because when you buy the crude, you
18 lose money. There are about eight products you
19 make from a barrel of crude, three of them make
20 money: gasoline, diesel, jet. Everything else
21 never, except for extremely rare situations, none
22 of the other products ever make more than crude
23 plus overhead: butane, propane, fuel oil,
24 asphalt, intermediates. They all come out of the
25 same barrel.

1 What is the trick, Tim? The trick is to
2 invest more money so that you can get more and
3 more gasoline diesel and jet out of each barrel of
4 crude, and then you have a shot. It takes a lot
5 of money. In the U.S., \$100 billion has been
6 invested in the years from '92 to 2002 in this
7 refining industry.

8 From my perspective, that is a fair
9 amount of money, and it does belie the notion that
10 people are sitting back and not investing at all.

11 Let me wrap it up by saying I think this
12 is a good thing to get a group together to examine
13 a situation that we all know is a challenge. We
14 need to have a better balance between supply and
15 demand. I think maybe rolling up the sleeves is a
16 pretty good way to get at it, and I think maybe
17 throwing some questions at this very knowledgeable
18 panel and ask them for their opinions and taking
19 them into account and maybe trying to move an
20 initiative forward that would take into account
21 the recommendations and observations that you have
22 heard here today would be a good thing.

23 Thank you.

24 COMMISSIONER BOYD: Thank you, Joe. The
25 next card I have is from Dr. George Bunyard who is

1 here representing the League of Women Voters of
2 Northern California. Go ahead.

3 MR. BUNYARD: I simple want to
4 congratulate you. I'm working for the League, the
5 Northern California part, who and this is my
6 initial initiation into this discussion. I think
7 this has been excellent. I've learned more than I
8 ever knew that I didn't know. So, thank you.

9 COMMISSIONER BOYD: I share that
10 feeling. Was there anyone else out there who
11 wanted to say something? Yes, sir. Would you
12 announce yourself and your affiliation, please.

13 MR. DECOTA: My name is Dennis DeCota.
14 I am the Executive Director of the California
15 Service Station and Automotive Repair Association.

16 COMMISSIONER BOYD: Dennis, I should
17 have known you from years ago. We have both
18 changed.

19 MR. DECOTA: Yes. I've been in this
20 business for 42 years. I've changed a lot in
21 those 42 years. The only area I have for
22 expertise in is that of petroleum retailer.

23 I represent men and women that are
24 hardworking people that have been franchisees and
25 partnered with major oil companies to distribute

1 gasoline throughout the State of California for
2 the last 14 years.

3 CASSARA, my organization, has been
4 around for a little 30 years and originally helped
5 Mr. Hamilton get going with a little seed money in
6 Washington.

7 The association is very concerned about
8 the issue of pricing in California and how it
9 affects our small businesses and the consumers
10 that we serve.

11 We applaud the California Energy
12 Commission and Transportation Committee in its
13 effort to review the market power issues in the
14 energy petroleum industry.

15 CASSARA pledges its support to your
16 investigation and holds itself out as a resource
17 for you and your consultants to contact for
18 specific information as you expand your probe into
19 the retail market place.

20 That brings us back to why I am up here.
21 That is basically my expertise is again, as
22 petroleum marketer. I operate as both a
23 franchisee dealer, and I have operated as a
24 unbranded dealer for many years in this state and
25 represented those folks for many years with my

1 association duties.

2 I absolutely have no ability to
3 negotiate a price of a gallon of gasoline. I have
4 to buy from a single source supplier at the price
5 that supplier demands on that day. No matter what
6 my volume is, no matter how I operate. If I
7 don't, I am in violation of my lease and I could
8 be terminated.

9 Unbranded dealers also have contracts
10 through middle men called jobbers, and jobbers
11 also have contracts with their franchise locations
12 that require them to buy the product from them.
13 All of this relates basically to there is not much
14 freedom in the ability of a retailer to shop
15 around to buy a gallon of gas. 85 percent of the
16 gasoline in this state is sold through branded
17 retail outlets. Only approximately 15 percent of
18 that gasoline is sold in the unbranded
19 marketplace.

20 The unbranded market place and rack
21 pricing are wholesale prices at which most
22 franchise dealers cannot purchase at. We purchase
23 at the highest wholesale price called dealer tank
24 wagon price, that is the delivery price that the
25 truck delivers the gas from.

1 In a market such as San Francisco, which
2 is one of the highest priced markets in the United
3 States and has been for the last seven years, we
4 have found that many of the major oil companies
5 have some pricing as small as given corner. What
6 this relates to is that they can have a company
7 operation on 19th and Tereval in competition with
8 its own brand marketer at 19th and Lincoln, but
9 now they are both company ops, okay. I'm talking
10 back six months ago.

11 The price differential for those
12 dealers, there is none because you are competing
13 directly with your companies underpricing you 15
14 to 20 cents. Once you are out of business, they
15 pick up that station and raise the floor of that
16 whole marketing area on 19th Avenue. They raise
17 the price up.

18 How much of that is manipulation or
19 market power? That is up to you to investigate,
20 but that goes on throughout. If you have taken
21 and purchased your service station today, you most
22 likely had to purchase it with a supply agreement.
23 I am talking about land and improvements become
24 responsible for all the environmental aspects of
25 that business.

1 You have to purchase that business from
2 your supplier with a long term supply agreement.
3 How sweet it would be in business if I always knew
4 that when I sold something I could count on what
5 that volume was going to be over 10 to 15 years.
6 How could I manipulate a market place if I knew
7 how many contracted gallons I controlled.

8 Mr. Hamilton is exactly correct. You
9 need to keep your eye on the tail of the dog for
10 awhile and see how prices are manipulated
11 throughout the municipalities versus the rural
12 areas. When you look at the prices in Colton, did
13 you look at the prices at rack out of Sacramento.
14 You didn't, and the reason you didn't is they are
15 not correlation in proximity. But they are
16 because our gas went from Benecia to Southern
17 California to Arizona and our prices here went up
18 \$0.10 per gallon, Jeffrey, in that period of time.

19 You need to look at it in the broad
20 spec. I think you will see how the market is
21 manipulated to a certain degree. Are the oil
22 companies bad? No, they are not. The oil
23 companies are doing what they have to do to take
24 in and show a profit and to last in the world
25 today.

1 Is it fair, is it reasonable business?

2 I don't think so. I've seen many many of my peers
3 been put out of business and the market
4 consolidated and consumers paying three to four
5 times the price they were ten years ago for
6 product.

7 Why? Because the lack of choice and the
8 lack of competition has created a spiral in
9 pricing. Since 1998, we've seen a paradigm change
10 in the way the oil companies retail. It is quite
11 dramatic. I mean if you look at the contractual
12 relationship, the amount of rent increases -- we
13 went in '98 and before Shell Texaco merged, we
14 basically were on a competitive basis with one
15 another as branded dealers and got gallon
16 incentives.

17 In other words, if I would get maybe
18 \$0.03 to \$0.04 a gallon from gallon one to go out
19 and try to raise my volume, to increase my
20 gasoline sales, and in doing so, would lower price
21 to the consumer. This is not done today. Branded
22 rack right now is higher than my branded DTW. It
23 is totally out of whack. The gas prices since the
24 first of the month, since the first of September
25 have increased over \$0.34 a gallon.

1 What does that constitute to California
2 citizens on a daily basis is the million and a
3 half dollars a day. This is a very very complex
4 issue with a lot of money at stake. A lot of
5 people are hurting very very severely because of
6 this.

7 Are the oil companies hurting? I don't
8 think so. If you look at the margins on the West
9 Coast and the time frame of the margins since the
10 introduction of CARB gas which became the fodder
11 for the oil companies to take and change their
12 retail structure and the way that they have done
13 business and the way they priced at retail, you
14 will see a constant increase in price. So, there
15 is no fall back from this marketers standpoint.
16 It has only been one way.

17 That is higher and higher and higher.
18 Rents literally have gone from \$3,000 a month in
19 the average service station in this state to well
20 over \$12,000 a month since '98. Margins for us
21 have shrunk because the increase in company
22 operations. Thus, the company keeps a lid on the
23 retail street price through their company ops.
24 They are shrinking our margin, they are driving us
25 out of business, there is less and less

1 competition, there is higher and higher gas
2 prices.

3 This needs to be investigated. We
4 applaud for your time and effort in this, and if
5 we can be of any assistance, please don't hesitate
6 to call. Thank you.

7 COMMISSIONER BOYD: Thank you, Dennis.
8 Was there anyone else? Okay, then I would like to
9 bring the issue back to this group and see if
10 there is any more comments, questions, dialogue
11 that you want to engage in up here.

12 Gregg, I know we kept cutting you off.
13 Did you feel like you got your fair share?

14 MR. HAGGQUIST: Probably (inaudible) --

15 COMMISSIONER BOYD: Is your mike on?

16 MR. HAGGQUIST: Is it on now? Yes. If
17 we were to get together with experts in each field
18 like the gentleman we just heard. I'm not expert
19 in that end of the business, your end of the
20 business, but if you get some experts together,
21 the economists for the backdrop and really walk
22 through some cases of -- let's play games. Let's
23 say okay we are the supply department for a major
24 oil company, or we are a trading company, or we
25 are a marketing company. How do we really do

1 things every day.

2 The Energy Commission will have an
3 actual hands on model of how it really flows. I'm
4 still not happy with the feeling that as much of
5 these presentations that you have heard, Jim, that
6 you really could go out there and really
7 understand the flow and the pressure on the price
8 and how the games -- not games. Games is the
9 wrong road, the dynamics that make the market
10 move. I just simply would repeat that really a
11 nuts and bolts operational meeting would -- maybe
12 invite the supply managers from each major oil
13 company and not only invited, make sure they are
14 here. Just make sure they are here. That kind of
15 thing. You cannot compel that, but --

16 COMMISSIONER BOYD: Invite them and they
17 will come.

18 MR. HAGGQUIST: You know, offer them a
19 reward, I don't know.

20 MR. BORENSTEIN: I just wanted to say
21 one last thing that the Energy Institute has a
22 contract now as I mentioned to do some research on
23 the retail end of the business, and I certainly
24 found Mr. Hamilton's and Mr. DeCota's comments
25 very intriguing, and I hope we can work further as

1 we work on that study.

2 COMMISSIONER BOYD: Thank you.

3 MR. HAMILTON: If I have one suggestion
4 for you. Look outside California, and you are
5 going to find your answers. In the State of
6 Washington, we hit \$2.30 a gallon this year. We
7 are right with you. Colton CARB gas, Long Beach
8 goes away, go to Seattle, go to Phoenix and watch
9 the price move and how it moves because I believe
10 there is a problem in California. You can't see
11 the forest through the trees, and things blur to
12 you.

13 You need to understand what drives price
14 and how when the price moves, what goes from there
15 to that guy, from this guy to Dennis, and how it
16 hits me at the street. Because what I think you
17 are all about is the high price at the pump. I
18 don't care about the price at this spot. I don't
19 care about the New York futures. What made the
20 stations on the corner of Spruce and Goose go up?
21 That is what you need to be able to do, and I
22 think if you go down to the bottom and head up,
23 versus at the top going down, which is you are
24 going to find an amazing thing.

25 Whatever you say, California is the most

1 expensive gas. No, it is not. Hawaii, Alaska,
2 Washington, Portland, and you really need to go
3 look outside California and how those inventory
4 marketing managers work.

5 COMMISSIONER BOYD: Thank you.

6 Any other comments? I'd like to thank this group
7 for what has proven to be an extremely interesting
8 discussion today, and we probably will follow up
9 on your offers for help and cooperation. I would
10 love to spend all my time on this, but tomorrow it
11 will be natural gas, and the next day will be
12 electricity, and then I will circle back to
13 climate change, and etc. etc.

14 This is intriguing, and we do want to
15 follow up on it. The sad thing is this is such a
16 tiny little state organization, less than 400
17 people, but they do work hard, and we will keep
18 them pursuing this issue.

19 I must confess, that, again, every time
20 we have one of these sessions, be it public
21 session or a visit from anyone of you representing
22 your organizations, we learn a little bit more,
23 and I am beginning to question when I will ever
24 totally understand the issue, but following with
25 Mr. Hamilton there, we will keep trying.

1 Yeah, we will venture off the island of
2 California and take a look at what other folks are
3 doing.

4 Commissioner Pfannenstiel, anything you
5 would like to say?

6 COMMISSIONER PFANNENSTIEL: Just to say
7 thanks to everybody. I learned a lot, and I
8 really appreciate the candor and the real solid
9 base of information you provided. Thank you.

10 COMMISSIONER BOYD: With that, we stand
11 adjourned, and again, I thank you all.

12 (Whereupon, at 3:46 p.m., the workshop
13 was adjourned.)

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I, ALAN MEADE, an Electronic Reporter,
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